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CARDINAL NEWMAN'S PAPERS

A Complete Edition of his Letters

By The Very Rev. CHARLES STEPHEN
DESSAIN¹

IN one of those references to modern times which enliven his pages, Dom David Knowles justly remarks² that, 'save on the rare occasions when the presence of a saint or a genius lends significance to the history of a Carmel at Lisieux or Dijon, or an Oratory at Edgbaston, the life of such communities, however useful or devout, passes in a narrow round of duties and relationships'. Yet, in view of the fact that Newman left behind him at Edgbaston a mass of papers and documents, increased since his death by enormous quantities of his own letters, which bring to life again, with quite extraordinary clarity, his world, his teaching and his personality, it may perhaps be said that the Birmingham Oratory possesses a certain uniqueness still. At all events Newman's archives are very valuable for the defence of the causes that he championed, whether in religion, philosophy or education. They are also of great interest to the historian, enabling him to get to the bottom of the controversies in which Newman was involved, and providing a vivid insight into many aspects of the history of the nineteenth century, throughout almost the whole of its span.

The Victorians are renowned for their hoarding of letters, and, although Newman really belongs to an earlier age, he, too, carefully collected letters and papers that appeared important. Some from his childhood and schooldays followed him to Trinity and then to Oriel. Their number was considerably increased during the Oxford Movement period, the various aspects of which they chronicle and illumine. They went with him to Littlemore, and then to Maryvale, where they remained until the opening of the Oratory

¹ Fr Dessain is Superior of the Birmingham Oratory.

² *The Religious Orders in England*, Vol. II, p. 363.

in Alcester Street, Birmingham. In 1851 they were removed from there to Edgbaston, where they found their final resting place in the room that was Newman's during the last thirty-nine years of his life. Here they were sorted, sometimes annotated, and, of course, grew still more numerous. They consist of journals, essays, notebooks, diaries, account books, memoranda, sermons, documents and correspondence of all kinds, which, as has been said, throw light on Newman's own development and that of his century.

The best way to show the riches of the Newman Archives of Edgbaston will be to give a brief outline of their content. This consists of:

1. Autobiographical Papers. Among these are the private diaries, covering almost all the years from 1824 to 1876, and also the early journals, retreat notes from Littlemore, Maryvale and Rome, the autobiographical memoir and other papers, many of them to be found in *Autobiographical Writings*, edited by Henry Tristram (London, 1956).

2. Papers dealing with Newman's parochial work at Oxford, and other episodes there; chiefly, of course, about the Oxford Movement.

3. Papers concerning the Catholic University of Ireland, and Newman's multifarious activities connected with it, most of them arranged by Newman himself.

4. The Philosophical Papers, which have often been consulted, many of them drafts of the *Grammar of Assent*. They are of great interest, but they do not necessarily represent Newman's final opinion, and he did not wish them to be published. Of one set of them he wrote, 'I have not any idea of putting it into shape for publication. I have not confidence enough in what I have advanced to warrant publication.'

5. Theological Papers. These include those on faith and development of doctrine written at Rome in 1847, on faith and certainty, on infallibility (in the years before the Vatican Council), etc., etc. One extremely valuable paper on development has been published in *The Journal of Theological Studies*,¹ and in *Gregorianum*.²

6. Various papers about the idea of St Philip's Oratory and the Oratorian vocation, and a series of chapter addresses which show Newman's views on the religious life.

¹ IX (October 1958), pp. 324-35.

² XXXIX (July 1958), pp. 585-96.

7. Papers on education, about Catholics going to the University of Oxford, the editorship of the *Rambler*, etc.

8. Manuscripts of published works, chiefly of the later ones, corrected proofs, etc.

9. Sermons. Of the Anglican sermons about two hundred and thirty have been published, and there remain unpublished about one hundred and seventy. Many of these are on themes very similar to those of published sermons, and on one bundle, early sermons preached at St Clement's, Oxford, Newman wrote: 'None of these are worth anything in themselves, but will show how far I was an Evangelical when I went into Anglican orders.' It is calculated that the unpublished Anglican sermons would fill about eight volumes. Of the Catholic sermons, two volumes were published by Newman, and a third containing the remaining autograph sermons, *Catholic Sermons*, was published in 1957. There are, besides, about one hundred and forty Catholic sermons, which were taken down by one of the audience while Newman was preaching. Some of these he later read through and approved. There exist a few unpublished sermon notes, in addition to those in the volume *Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman, 1849-1878*, edited by Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory.¹ All these manuscripts have been carefully preserved and catalogued ever since Newman died.

10. Books. Some of these are in Newman's room and some in the community library. A number of them have annotations by Newman. Some come from his father's library, some are his own school books, some are Oxford textbooks, and then, of course, there are the many volumes of the Fathers, in the editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a large number of which were presented to Newman by his friends.

This list is not exhaustive, nor does it include the largest and on the whole the most important part of the Newman Archives, the collection of Newman's letters and correspondence. Some of this is still in the cupboards in his room, in the order in which he left it, but most of it, collected since his death, is housed in two adjoining rooms, one of them formerly his bedroom, in which he died.

Newman himself began the collection. At Oriel in August 1828 he speaks of pasting into books his family letters. Besides the letters he received, he kept drafts of a number of the more important of

¹ London, 1913.

his own letters. About 1860 he put the letters of his Oxford period into order, destroying those which seemed no longer of importance. His friends lent him many of his letters when he had to write the *Apologia*. Some of these he printed there, and others he copied out before returning them to their owners. In 1870 he was arranging his Irish correspondence, and sometimes letters were given back to him, to keep or to copy, when friends died.

Newman kept these letters and papers for various reasons. They were most useful guides to future action. His life formed a unity, based on the same fundamental principles; these papers showed his progress, and helped him to map out his course. They were, too, many of them, important as *pièces justificatives*, and they proved of inestimable value at the time of the writing of the *Apologia*, as they have on various occasions since. Later Newman realized their importance for his inevitable biography, and he added to them by writing various autobiographical papers. This became all the more important after the death of Fr Ambrose St John in 1875. Newman realized that no one remained who could write his life with the same intimate knowledge, and that it was all the more necessary to leave behind ample material, not for publication, but as a guide to his biographer.

Cardinal Newman died on 11 August 1890, and, while practically no additions have been made to his papers, the number of his letters in the Birmingham Archives has increased enormously. At once William Neville, who had taken the place of Ambrose St John as literary executor, appealed for letters or the loan of them. They came pouring in, the piles rose round his desk, and some five thousand in all were copied. Fr Neville was assisted and then succeeded in his task by Frs Richard and Lewis Bellasis (sons of one of Newman's great friends), who lived many years in the Cardinal's community as chosen disciples. Gradually the letters were reduced to order. Besides the five thousand copied letters, the correspondence of individuals was sorted into some hundred and fifty files of 'Personal Collections'. A further eighty files were filled with 'Various Collections', under such headings as 'Oriel Tutorship', 'Essay on Development', 'Early Days of the Oratory', 'Answers to Enquirers', 'Pusey's *Eirenicon*', 'Letter to Duke of Norfolk', and many more. The correspondence between Oratorians accounted for sixty files of 'Oratory Letters'. There were sixty-five boxes of 'Miscellaneous Letters', arranged chronologically, and various other categories. All these have thus long

been available for consultation. Lewis Bellasis died in February 1938, and his brother a year later. After a short interval they were succeeded by Fr. Henry Tristram, who received and put in order a few further collections of letters.

It seems that there must be extant, all told, about twenty thousand letters written by Cardinal Newman, and quite a large proportion of the letters written to him, as well. Newman's correspondence is of great interest and importance, not only for the learned and studious, or those concerned for the religious and spiritual life, but also for the general reader, for experience has shown that even people with little knowledge of Newman or his background find his letters fascinating.

Up until now only a fraction of the letters has been published. For the period before Newman became a Catholic, there are the two volumes of Anne Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*,¹ and the volume edited at the Birmingham Oratory, *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845*.² For the Catholic period there are the letters included in Wilfrid Ward's two volume *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*,³ where, of course, many of them are not printed complete. A few more letters have appeared in later books about Newman, but a full edition of his letters has long been felt to be an urgent need.

Fr Tristram began preparing for such an edition after the Second World War, proposing to group the letters according to the correspondent to whom they were addressed. Failing health prevented him from carrying the work very far, but his beginnings have not been wasted. After his death in 1955 the present writer took on his work. It was soon found that the only convenient method was to print the letters chronologically. It was also decided that the letters were too important for omissions to be made, or for an editor to risk giving a false picture thereby. On the other hand they were so numerous that it was quite impossible to include the letters written to Newman. A complete edition, then, is in preparation, which aims at including every letter that Newman wrote, and which will make continual use of the letters written to him, in order to annotate and explain Newman's own letters.

In view of this, many additions have been made in the last six years to the already vast collections of Newman letters in the

¹ London, 1891.

² London, 1917.

³ London, 1912.

archives at the Birmingham Oratory. Whole collections have been added, either in the form of autographs or copies; photostats have been obtained of the hundreds of letters at Oxford, the British Museum, in the United States, and elsewhere. Biographies and printed sources have been searched, and an almost complete collection is now available, thanks to the generosity of the owners of autographs, whether public bodies or private individuals.

Since there are, as has been said, already three large volumes containing a selection of the letters Newman wrote as an Anglican, it has been decided to publish first the letters that were written after he joined the Catholic Church in October 1845. A much smaller proportion of these has seen the light, and there is a correspondingly greater urgency about their publication. Several volumes of letters written after Newman's conversion are now arranged and annotated, and some twenty or more will be necessary for this period alone. The publishing house of Thomas Nelson and Sons, of Edinburgh, have agreed to undertake the work, and it is hoped that the first volume, from October 1845 to December 1846, will appear in 1961. Newman's diaries will be interspersed with the letters, and, aided by the notes, will give the work something of the form of a biography.

NEWMAN'S DELATION

Some Hitherto Unpublished Letters

By The Rev. VINCENT F. BLEHL, S.J.

IN July 1859 Newman published an article in the *Rambler* magazine entitled 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine'. This article met with the disapproval of Dr Gillow, theologian at Ushaw, and Dr Brown, Bishop of Newport. The latter delated the article to Rome because of certain passages which he believed to be, if not heretical, at least bordering on heresy. The matter was referred to Dr Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, and to Dr Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham and Newman's Ordinary.

Upon returning from Rome Dr Ullathorne conferred with Newman. The latter wrote immediately to Dr Wiseman offering to explain any passage in the article which needed explanation, and, if necessary, to withdraw any objectionable statements. Newman was later informed by Manning that the matter was settled in Rome and that nothing further was required of Newman. Nevertheless, Newman continued to live under a cloud in Rome because he had given no explanation of the passages which were in question. In 1867, when Ambrose St John was in Rome, he discovered the feeling that prevailed against Newman in that city.¹ Subsequently, in the third edition of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Newman took occasion to explain the passages which had been objected to.

In the Appendix of the *Arians* Newman asserts that the three causes which furnished matter of objection were these: (1) that "there was a temporary suspense of the functions of the '*Ecclesia Docens*'"; (2) that "the body of Bishops failed in their confession of the faith"; (3) that "general councils, &c., said what they should not have said, or did what obscured and compromised revealed truth". Newman affirms that he meant by "suspense" only this—that there was no authoritative utterance of the Church's infallible voice in matter of fact between the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, and the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, or, in the words which he actually used, "there was nothing after Nicaea of firm, unvarying consistent testimony for nearly sixty years". Secondly, in saying that "the *body* of Bishops failed in their confession of the faith", Newman did not mean "body" in the sense of the Latin word *corpus* as that is used in theological treatises, and as it doubtless would be translated for the benefit of readers ignorant of the English language. Rather, he goes on to say, he used the word in its familiar vague sense to mean "the great preponderance", or, "the mass" of Bishops, viewing them in the main or the gross as a *cumulus* of individuals. In this sense it is historically true that the body of Bishops failed in their confession of the faith. Third, "general councils said what they should not have said and did what obscured and compromised the real truth". Here Newman was not speaking of 'general' in the sense of 'ecumenical', for there were no ecumenical councils between 325 and 381 and therefore he could not have been referring to any. In matter of fact,

¹ Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1913, I, 501 ff.; II, 169-174.

Newman used the word 'general' in *contrast* to 'ecumenical'. He goes on to say that when he spoke of 'general councils compromising the real truth', he spoke of the Arian or Eusebian Councils, not of the Catholic.¹

The question may be raised why Newman was misunderstood at all. Heretofore Newman scholars have not had access to the actual text of what Bishop Brown had said in his report to Rome. The following letters of Bishop Brown to Propaganda, published here for the first time, show clearly those passages to which Bishop Brown objected in Newman's article. Moreover, they reveal a certain suspicion on the part of Bishop Brown, not only of Newman, but of all the recent converts to Catholicism. The third letter is perhaps the most important of all, because in this letter Bishop Brown translates the objectionable passages into Latin, and in at least two instances translates them in such a way as to give an heretical sense to the meaning of the words. He, for example, translates the word 'body' as *corpus* and the words 'general councils' he translates as 'ecumenical councils'.

The first letter written to Mgr Cajetan Bedini, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, reads as follows:

Chepstow October 3. 1859

My dear Lord Archbishop

My apology for intruding upon your Grace this letter is, first because I flatter myself you will not object to an exercise of your English, the knowledge of which is so useful in your important & exalted position at Propaganda—and, secondly, because there are matters on which I think it fitting to communicate with you, not in your official capacity, but rather in a free confidential manner, leaving to your discretion to make known to the Cardinal Prefect so much as you may think proper.

I must begin by lamenting over the disorders of Italy, and the sad troubles which beset the closing years of our Holy Father. . . .

Also, we must not shut our eyes to the apprehension which is commonly entertained by reflecting Catholics in England, concerning a great portion of the converted clergy—They join in considerable numbers the Oratory of D^r Newman in Birmingham, or that of D^r Faber in London, neither of which have I believe more than one of the original Catholics amongst them, so that there is great danger of certain Protestant notions & feelings being fostered, whilst a Catholic training of the kind, so important to converts, can hardly be hoped for.

I am moved to call your Grace's attention to this matter, on

¹ *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, 3 ed. (London, 1871), p. 472 ff. (new edition, 1897, 464 ff.)

account of a most unfortunate essay published in July last in the Rambler, which was edited at the time by so distinguished a convert as is Dr Newman; moreover, there is, I believe, no doubt that essay was from his pen. For a good while past, much uneasiness was entertained concerning certain articles in the Rambler, (a monthly Periodical) which was from its commencement under the management of converts: but I could excuse & explain every thing, except that in the July number, entitled "On Consulting the Faithful in matters of Doctrine."—The first pages are not objectionable on the ground of faith; but I invite the attention of your Grace to pages 213 & 214.—There are propositions in those pages which appear to me totally subversive of the essential authority of the Church in matters of faith—I extract the following verbatim

"In the fourth Century the divine tradition committed to the Infallible Church was *proclaimed* and maintained *far more by the faithful than by the Episcopate*. . . ."—"I am not denying that the great body of the Bishops were in their *internal belief* orthodox"—"I mean still that in that time of immense confusion the divine dogma of our Lord's Divinity was proclaimed, enforced, *maintained*, and (humanly speaking) *preserved far more by the 'Ecclesia docta' than by the 'Ecclesia docens'*; that the *body of the Episcopate was unfaithful to its commission* while the body of the Laity was faithful to its Baptism; that at one time the Pope, at other times the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, & other great Sees, at other times *General Councils* said what they should not have said, or did what obscured or *compromised revealed truth*"—"I shall set down some authorities for the two points successively which I have to enforce, viz that the Nicene Dogma was maintained during the greater part of the 4th Century *1 not by the unswerving firmness of the Holy See, Councils, or Bishops, but 2 by the 'consensus fidelium.'* On the one hand then I say that there was a *temporary suspense of the 'Ecclesia docens.'* The *body of Bishops failed in their confession of the faith.* They spoke one against another. There was *nothing after Nicæa, of firm, unvarying, consistent testimony, for nearly sixty years.* There were untrustworthy Councils, unfaithful Bishops; there was weakness, *misguidance, delusion, hallucination, endless, hopeless,* extending itself into *nearly every corner of the Catholic Church.* The comparatively few who remained faithful were discredited and driven into exile; **THE REST WERE EITHER DECEIVERS, OR WERE DECEIVED.**"

To support the above propositions, a number of Councils & writers of the 4th Century are appealed to; but the arguments are totally incorrect, sophistical, & untrue. I need not quote from them, as your Grace may be tempted to read the Essay.

At the Synod in July I spoke on the subject to the Cardinal, the Bishop of Birmingham in whose diocese Dr Newman resides, & to D Manning. All agreed in lamenting that Newman should have so expressed himself, & Dr Manning went to expostulate with him,

but obtained no other result except the assurance of Newman that he did not *mean* to say, the Church had fallen into error. I hoped that when the next number of the Rambler (now published only every second month) should appear, it would contain some explanation or apology, but there was none. I wrote to the Cardinal, in whose Diocese the Rambler is published, also to B^p Ullathorne who is the Ordinary of D^r Newman, saying how important it was that some measures should be speedily taken to remedy the evil of the article in the July Rambler, but nothing of any public nature to repair or prevent scandal has been done. I then wrote to the Professor of Theology at Ushaw Seminary in the Diocese of Hexham, also to D^r Manning, suggesting to the former that he should publish a refutation of the statements of D^r Newman, and inviting the latter to use his influence with D^r Newman. The Professor of Theology agreed with me in deploring the article, said he thought of replying to it, but was induced to retire from a course which ought to be taken by some one higher in authority; that he had written upon the subject to Newman, *receiving an unsatisfactory answer*; that he was alarmed at the attitude of many of the converts, and feared lest much scandal should one day arise from them. D^r Manning replied that he had by letter asked Newman to publish some thing on the office of the Church, not historically but dogmatically, which might remove the impression of what appeared in the Rambler, but nothing has yet appeared. Although I am overwhelmed with business, I thought of publishing a refutation of Newman's Essay; but reflecting that if I did so in my own name, I might appear to be officious in usurping the duty of the Ordinary of the Diocese in which the Rambler is published, or of the Bishop in whose Diocese D^r Newman resides: therefore I deemed it most prudent to call your Grace's attention to that Essay, & leave further proceedings to your prudence. Perhaps the high authority of the Holy See is the best to deal with the case—It is most painful to see published by one whom we regarded as the best of our converts, allegations and arguments such as had been put forward again & again by our heretical enemies, which had been as often refuted, and which might now seem to be the writing of a Calvinist.

There are, in the writings of Faber, many very objectionable passages, some of which I intended to set before your Grace; but space fails me, though I have extracted nearly a hundred quotations from only three of his Books, several of which are self-contradictory; others opposed to the teaching of St Thomas, & all Theologians whom I have been able to consult; others dangerous if reduced to practice; & others very disedifying. One of the Converts, formerly a Parson, Maskell, told me that Faber had tried his faith & done him more harm than any one else, by his writings.

Devoted Servant in J.C.

✱ T J Brown¹

¹ Scrit. Ref., Anglia, XV, 1080, 1080v, 1081, Archives of Propaganda, Rome.

Dr Brown followed up this letter with another to Bedini later in the month. This forms a sort of appendix to the previous letter:

Chepstow Oct 30 1859

My dear Lord Archbishop

About a month since I took the liberty of writing a non-official letter to your Grace, and for that reason, amongst others, I wrote it in English—I find, however, by a letter which reached me last week from the S. Congregation of Propaganda that your Grace was absent from Rome, probably on account of the vacation, and may not have received until quite recently my former communication. Hence I am impelled to trouble you with these lines, as a sort of appendix to those of a month since.

In that former letter I called your Grace's attention to an Article in our Periodical called "the Rambler," under the editorship at that time of Dr Newman, who was I believe the author of that article, although "the Rambler" is now in other hands. I shall be gratified if your Grace has obtained a copy of that number of "the Rambler", in order to verify my quotations, and to see whether the context suffices to disprove the errors with which I charge the Article—The character of the proofs brought to support the doctrines of the writer, will also, I hope, have engaged your attention, as many of them appear to me quite as deserving of censure as the propositions which they are alleged to support. They are the very ones which our enemies have frequently brought against us, and which Catholic Theologians have refuted again & again—they are sophistical & dishonest—

But my present object is to call your Grace's attention to the last paragraph in the Article in question, which I had not space to advert to in my former letter, but which appears to me quite as bad as any thing which went before it—in some respects, worse

"I think that the Ecclesia docens is more happy when she has such enthusiastic partisans about her as are here represented" (that is, in a foregoing quotation concerning the acclamations bestowed by the people of Ephesus upon the Bishops who formed that General Council) *"than when she cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines, and the sympathy of her divine contemplations and requires from them a "fides implicita" in her word, which in the educated classes will terminate in indifference, & in the poorer in superstition."*

Now it appears to me a most grievous calumny against the Church to say that she ever "cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines, & the sympathy of her divine contemplations, —and that it is an attack on the security derived from the infallible authority of the Church to say that to "require a fides implicita in her word," is an act "which in the educated classes will terminate in indifference, and in the poorer in superstition."—

I have not made any remark on the statement, in p 229 "while the Councils of the 4th Century were traitors to our Lord's Divinity, the Laity vehemently protested against its impugnors." It is unjust to assert in general terms that "the Councils of the 4th Century were traitors to our Lord's Divinity," for there were many & more numerous than the Arian Councils who were its defenders; though this does not appear distinctly in the previous po[rtion?]. However it may be said that it had been sufficiently set forth, & therefore I do not press this point.

I may be allowed to support my views by an extract of a letter which I received from the Professor of Theology at Ushaw College to whom I wrote upon the Article in "the Rambler." Although I feel most strongly the necessity of counteracting the mischief of that most unfortunate and censurable article in the Rambler, yet I have not done any thing myself towards refuting it . . . The chief cause that made me abandon the task was that the matter is too grave, and the quarter from which it springs is too high, to be met by a private individual. . . . The case should come under a higher tribunal. I have nevertheless had a private correspondence with the person to whom I attribute the article, & this has terminated in a manner not very satisfactory . . . That article is the most alarming Phenomenon of our times, & has made the old Catholics feel that they do not know where they can place their confidence. It has contributed to widen still more the division between the old Catholics and the Converts, which it appears to me the latter have been setting up ever since their reception into the one fold. They have a strong party (it is melancholy to think that we should be able to use such a word with truth)—they have got into their hands the chief portion of the Catholic press, and if the breach continues to open as it is now doing, we shall see sad results—"

Trusting your Grace will, in consideration of the importance of the matter excuse the liberty I take in again troubling you, I remain

My dear Lord Archbishop—Your Grace's

Devoted Brother in JC.

T.F Brown—B^p of Newport and Menevia¹

This second letter reveals even more clearly than the first the fundamental difference of viewpoint between Dr Brown and Newman. In reality there is no contradiction underneath. Dr Brown, concerned with dogmatic orthodoxy, reacts according to *a priori* principles. Newman is viewing matters historically and writes from an *a posteriori* viewpoint. Newman is saying that, if one takes into account historical evidence, the Church is in a better position when she takes cognizance of the laity especially in matters which are of particular concern to the laity. Elsewhere in the article

¹ Ibid., 1082v, 1083, 1083v.

Newman admits that it is hardly necessary in the contemporary world for the Church to consult the faithful in matters of doctrine but this situation can have *de facto* disadvantages. Should the laity fail to become vitally interested in those aspects of doctrine which especially form the objects of worship and devotion, indifference in the educated and superstition in the masses could result.

Dr Brown, on the other hand, seems to think that Newman is insinuating that the Church is at fault when she demands an implicit act of faith in all her doctrines, for she thereby cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines. While it is abstractly possible to take this meaning out of Newman's words, the whole tenor of the article and the particular context show that such a meaning was never intended by Newman.

It will not be necessary to quote all of the third letter, for it translates into Latin the same passages mentioned in the other two. Nevertheless several examples will serve to show how the Latin gives an unfaithful view of Newman's original statements and seems to express, as Dr Brown said, "*verum haereticum aut haeresi proximum*".

"*corpus Episcoporum suo muneri infidele exstitisse*"

"*Summum Pontificem uno tempore, alio concilia Oecumenica id egisse quod veritatem revelatam obscurabat vel compromittebat*"

"*Ecclesiam docentem suum officium intermisisse*"

"*Episcoporum Corpus in fide profitendū defecisse*"¹

As Newman later remarked in his Appendix without actually having seen the Latin translation, the words *corpus Episcoporum* and *Concilia Oecumenica* would undoubtedly be used inaccurately to translate 'the body of the Bishops' and 'the general councils'. Indeed, the statements as they stand in Latin border on heresy.

Readers familiar with the subsequent history of the case will recall Mgr Talbot's confident assertion to Ambrose St John that the statements in the article were heretical. Talbot also was the recipient of a letter from Bishop Brown. This letter was equally damaging for it did not quote Newman's article but interpreted it in an unfavourable light.

Chepstow

Oct^r 7. 1859

I hope you have been able to see the Rambler of July—& called the attention of His Holiness to the positive heresy brought out under the Editorship of Newman, or rather (for it is I believe the

¹ Ibid., 1071, 1071^v.

fact,) coming from his pen,—If it be Catholic truth & of faith that the Episcopate ever maintained divine tradition—that this is not maintained by mere *internal* belief—that the body of the Episcopate cannot be unfaithful to its commission—that the Pope & General Councils have never compromised revealed truth—that the faith has to be preserved by the firmness of the Holy See, Councils, & Bishops—that there never could be a period of sixty years without firm consistent testimony on the important dogma of Our Lord's Divinity—that there never was misguidance, & delusion, hopelessly extending in matters of faith into nearly every corner of the Catholic Church, so that with the exception of a comparative few all the remainder of the Ecclesia docens were either deceivers or deceivers [*sic*]¹—then as the contrary is propounded in distinct terms at pp 213 & 214, those propositions are heretical—See also p 229, wherein it is set down that “the Council's [*sic*] of the 4th Century were traitors to our Lord's Divinity,” without making any exception, & the next page, last par—which asserts that when the Ecclesia docens requires a *fides implicita* in her word she cuts off the faithful from the study of her divine doctrines, & requires that which in the educated classes will terminate in indifference & in the poorer in superstition—

I have written to the Bps (Bishops) whom these matters chiefly concern upon this, as being the Ordinary of the Publisher, & of the Editor, but I hear of no overt measures to denounce such errors—& I know that private communications to Newman, have been met by unsatisfactory answers.

We shall I fear witness much evil from the herding together of the Converts as many of them do. Had I time & space I should like to lay before you some of the almost hundred extracts I have made from the only three works of Faber which I mean ever to read—involving barefaced contradictions—doctrines directly opposed to St Thomas & all divines I ever saw, in one instance putting down as from St Thomas what is in his Sum [*Summa Theologica*] an objection, replied to below, & going against the asceticism of all our classic moral writers & Saints known to me—

The arguments by which Newman seeks to support his positions are just those which had been again & again refuted by Catholic Theologians when put forward by the Churches of the 16th & 17th centuries. Propaganda might be a little dissatisfied if they thought I wrote on the above to any one out of the S.C. [*Sacred Congregation*] therefore I commend myself to your discretion. . . .¹

One final footnote may be added to this account. In May 1879, when Newman was at Rome, he took occasion to show to Bishop Clifford the Appendix which he had written to the *Arians* in 1871, asking him whether he should do anything with it while he was at Rome. Clifford advised against it. ‘The affair,’ he said,

¹ Talbot Collection, Archives of the English College, Rome.

'may be regarded either as a matter brought by Bishop Brown of Newport before Propaganda against you or a point controverted between you and Cardinal Franzelin, i.e. between two theologians. If as the former, the present Pope has wiped it out in making you a Cardinal; if as the latter, it is only a difference between divines.'¹

Franzelin had apparently lectured against the article at the Roman College, though the only reference I have been able to find in his printed works occurs in his *Tractatus De Divina Traditione et Scriptura* (Rome, 1875), pp. 113-14, in which he implies that Newman deduced from the history of the Arians that the *Ecclesiam docentem non esse quovis tempore posse instrumentum activum infallibilitatis Ecclesiae*. Newman replies to this inference in a footnote (No. 5) in the Appendix, though he does not name Franzelin as the 'distinguished theologian' who drew the conclusion.

THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

A Sense of Belonging?

By L. A. ZAINA²

THAT there is such a thing as a university community seems to be generally agreed, but exactly what constitutes it or on what lines it should be run seems to be more debatable. Sir Charles Morris, writing on 'The Idea of a University Education', describes it as 'a particular kind of community, a particular way of life of its own'.³ This does not take us much further but in the course of the same article he expands as follows:

In the English tradition the impact of the University is largely brought to bear, according to the common opinion, not in the

¹ *Archives of the Oratory*, Birmingham, England, A. 26. 4.

² A paper prepared for the Second Conference of Catholic University Teachers, which met at Upholland in September 1960. The writer is a lecturer in French in the University of Liverpool.

³ *Universities Quarterly* (1954-5), p. 255.

formal studies or in any direct teaching, but in the very living of the academic community, as a unity or collegium of scholars and thinkers in all disciplines supporting and comforting one another.⁴

This company of scholars then should not be just a haphazard collection of persons cultivating diverse disciplines which happen for historical or social or financial reasons to be collected in the same place, but a unity that comes from the pursuit of common purposes, the advancement of learning and the education of youth. In that academic community then there are two kinds of member, the senior and the junior, the latter could perhaps be compared with catechumens for not until they have successfully been through certain trials will they be admitted to full membership. All this may seem very remote from the particular problems of university education in the twentieth century, but nevertheless it is the ideal which must underlie any discussion of the problems which concern the two categories of the academic community whether separately or together.

Let us first consider the senior members and the kind of community of which they are a part. In theory, at least, it is a community of equals, of persons with similar abilities, qualifications and interests pursuing the same aims—indeed, the kind of community in which that overworked and now well-nigh meaningless term democracy might seem to have some relevance. And indeed if we look at the ancient universities usually designated as 'Oxbridge' we do find that they are academic republics of which all senior members are 'citizens' (and of which there are no other citizens). It is true that some members enjoy considerable power *ex officio*, as for example the Heads of Colleges, but nevertheless any fundamental legislation of the university must come before an assembly in which every 'citizen' may speak and vote, and furthermore the majority also possess certain rights as electors. It is true that many are also employed by the university but this means being employed by a corporation of which they are full members so that the master and servant relationship is scarcely felt at all. Some indeed, by virtue of positions which they would hold in colleges, are relatively independent of the university as an employer.² This form of constitution would seem to foster that conviction of 'belonging' which is essential for a real community

¹ *Idem.*, p. 258.

² Vide: *Thoughts on the Government of Modern Universities*, by Austin Duncan-Jones, *Universities Quarterly* (1954-5), pp. 245-53.

—the individual is part of a body in whose operations he has a real share, however attenuated it may be.

The constitution of most modern universities is of a very different pattern, for most senior members are not so much citizens as employees. The ultimate governing body of the university, court or council, contains a majority of members who hold no academic position in the university, and most members of that majority are not men of learning. Of course, some holders of academic posts have a voice in the counsels of the university, but the majority of the teaching body have a very small voice, confined, probably, to the election of a few representatives, and sometimes not even that. The result is a sense of frustration, at least among those who are not content to be 'hired hands', and the situation is certainly not conducive to that sense of being part of a body which is essential for a community.

It may I think be worth while to give an outline of the working of the present system, so as to place these remarks in perspective. The largest of the governing bodies of the university is the Court, consisting often of several hundred members representing many organizations and interests such as learned societies, Local Education Authority, etc. But the effective governing body is the Council, consisting usually of about thirty members, about half of whom are city aldermen or councillors and half professors representing Senate and Faculties, with a few delegates of Convocation though in some universities the proportion of academic representatives is even lower than this. The Council controls university affairs, including expenditure, for all important decisions must be ratified by it. The Senate is made up of professors and a few other very senior persons, such as the University Librarian. Below it come Faculties, which are in fact boards of Faculties, consisting once more of professors, heads of departments and a small number of co-opted (or elected) members of the rest of the teaching staff. Finally come the Boards of Studies—the only body which consists of *all* the teaching members of a department or group of allied departments. The only power possessed by this last body is that of putting forward recommendations which are then examined by Faculty and Senate and often eventually decided by Council—with all the delay that such a cumbersome procedure involves. Such a system produces in the few a tendency to turn into a changeless bureaucracy, forsaking scholarship for the minutiae of university administration, and amongst the many a complete

detachment from university affairs. The inability to initiate change leads to an absence of desire for it. As Mr T. G. E. Powell wrote in his article on 'The Need for Reconstitution in the Civic Universities':

There is now probably more than at any time in the last half-century, a feeling that the civic universities are not integrated self-developing societies devoted to learning but only employing educational institutions.¹

The efforts of the Association of University Teachers to get themselves recognized as a negotiating body, like a trade union, reinforces the above attitude. It is not without significance that their smallest membership is to be found in the ancient universities.

A number of remedies have been put forward for the state of affairs described above. The complete overhaul of the system suggested by Mr Powell in the article mentioned above is not likely to gain support—the clean sweep and fresh start are not in the tradition of English institutions—though new universities starting from scratch might do worse than consider his proposals. Nor does provision for more elected members on the various bodies (as will be the case in the revised Liverpool charter) touch more than the fringe of the problem, for it can do but little to change the attitude of most senior members towards the institution to which they belong. Token gestures of democracy have very little real value, and are unlikely to lead to the growth of the new universities into 'mature, self-governing academic societies'.² One of the most deplorable aspects of things as they are is that there is no possibility of public discussion and controversy within the university upon problems of university policy—indeed profound secrecy surrounds these matters. Not only is there no counterpart of the *Cambridge Review* or the *Oxford Magazine*, journals which provide a forum for informed discussion, there is also no counterpart of the *Cambridge Reporter* and the *Oxford Gazette*, publishing what decisions have been taken and by whom. The most urgent requirement then would seem to be the creation of a general assembly of all established members of the academic staff, like Regent House at Cambridge or Congregation at Oxford, which should have the power to amend, debate and in the last resort reject all proposals for fundamental university legislation. Existing Boards of Studies

¹ *Universities Quarterly* (1954-5), p. 84.

² Austin Duncan-Jones, *art. cit.*, *Universities Quarterly* (1954-5), p. 251.

should be granted some *real* power within their limited field, so that decisions can be made without undue delay and published as soon as made. Changes along these lines would 'enfranchise' the academic staff of Redbrick, attenuate the master-servant relationship and develop that sense of community which should exist among a fellowship of scholars.

These then are some of the problems and preoccupations of the senior part of the academic community. But this community to be complete consists not only of teachers but also of the taught with their own particular problems. The student who comes to a university should, at least in theory, not only continue the formal education begun at school in order to procure a gainful occupation but also become a part of a community in which certain moral and social influences are focused. He should learn not only from his lectures and private reading but even more from intercourse with both his equals and his seniors, speaking a common language, pursuing a common purpose. There can be no doubt that to realize this ideal in the setting of many provincial universities is extremely difficult, and likely to become more so with increasing numbers. For many students who live at home and come into the university daily, sometimes from considerable distances, this period is merely a continuation of school-days, with perhaps fewer amenities and more perplexities, while they remain essentially a part of the home circle, which may be a very narrow one. The student in lodgings fares little better and sometimes worse; like the home student he may have to travel quite a distance every day and fall in with a time-table which scarcely allows of extra-curricular activities, he is, however, at least gaining some experience of independent living. There is today general agreement that residence is the best way of securing for the student the fullest possible benefit from a university education. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester said to the University Court on 11 May 1955:

We can confidently say that we are offering our students good educational facilities . . . but too few are learning to undertake responsibility, to find a real purpose in life, to acquire poise and to develop those qualities of character and personality which are essential for leadership. Experience has convinced me that the only way to remedy this defect is to take steps to become ultimately, and as quickly as possible, a residential university.¹

¹ *U.G.C. Report of Sub-Committee on Halls of Residence (H.M.S.O., 1957)*, p. 7.

At the end of the Niblett Report, from which the above quotation has been taken, we find the following:

It [the University] must find ways in which to give the students a chance to grow roots in university soil. During his university years a student needs books, amenities, social contacts, advanced knowledge, and the society of mature and able minds. He must find these available to him outside his department as well as in it and during his leisure hours as well as those spent in study?¹

A Hall of Residence is a community within the larger university community, as is a college at Oxford or Cambridge, though with no teaching functions, to which it is easier for a student to give his loyalty; membership of this resident body gives to his university education a dimension it might not otherwise possess. Halls differ from university to university and even within the same university—here we find new buildings designed for the purpose and holding perhaps as many as 200 students, there converted mansions where students may have to share rooms and make do with an odd assortment of furniture. A Hall, however, is neither made nor marred by the quality of its physical amenities. Indeed, as Mr John Murray remarked in his article on 'Halls of Residence in Universities', 'the more a hall approximates to the comforts and conveniences of the large up-to-date hotel, then like a hotel it may prove, and may continue'.² Writing on 'Residence in Redbrick Universities' Mr Cyril Bibby speaks of 'the sense of comradeship that develops when a residential community is not a mere residence but is also a community—with its history and associations, its arms, its blazer and scarf, its sports teams, its clubs and societies, its intercommunity games and debates and the like, and its senior members, who are a real part of it'.³ Someone may object at this point that loyalty to the Hall and activity in the Hall might come to supersede participation in the wider community. Miss Doris Thoday, while a research Fellow in the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science at the University of Birmingham, carried out an investigation, the results of which were published in the *Universities Quarterly* in 1957, showing conclusively that in Birmingham at least it was in fact students in residence who took the greatest part in university affairs and led a more generally active university life.

¹ *Idem.*, p. 41.

² *Universities Quarterly* (1950-1), p. 377.

³ *Idem.* (1952-3), p. 188.

There is clearly no reason why Halls of Residence should be uniform; there is no blue-print for the ideal hall; nevertheless it may be useful to see what are the factors which may lead to an approximation of the ideal hall. I do not propose to enter into details of physical facilities in going over the ground covered in the report on planning Halls of Residence of 1948 and in the Niblett Report of 1957, but only to underline the importance of certain recommendations.

Personal relationships are more important than buildings, and so it would seem obvious that the first essential of a good hall is a suitable warden. Although there is some dispute on the subject, I am quite clear in my own mind that a warden should be a full-time member of the academic staff (though with a lightened teaching programme). John Murray says:

The warden, male or female, who is not on the academic staff is not sure of the full respect of students, and his or her Hall tends to fall away from the academic to the boarding-house atmosphere.¹

Having a warden who is on the academic staff implies, of course, an adequate bursarial and domestic staff. Furthermore, and here I am in complete disagreement with Mr John Murray, there should be a reasonable number of resident members of the academic staff, with tutorial responsibilities, so as to form an adequate Senior Common Room. Halls need not be a slavish and therefore poor imitation of the colleges of the older universities, but there is no reason why they should not profit by such of their experience as is relevant. Mr J. W. L. Adams, the warden of Crewe Hall, Sheffield, commenting on Mr John Murray's article on halls, expressed the case admirably as follows:

The presence of other members of the university staff in a hall senior common room can be of great positive value to the warden of the hall. It offers the junior members wider opportunities for guidance and friendships with men and women of academic distinction, and so promotes closer relations between staff and students. It provides occasional reliefs for the warden and gives him a group of colleagues within the Hall whom it may be helpful to consult on problems which arise. It gives experience to younger men who may be useful as wardens in their turn. So far from fearing rivals the good warden will, surely, welcome men of personality as his colleagues: for they have a greater contribution to make to his hall.²

¹ *Universities Quarterly* (1948-9), art. cit., p. 566.

² *Universities Quarterly* (1948-9), p. 814.

The next point which seems to me of paramount importance is that the Hall is not only a place in which to eat and sleep and occasionally make merry, but also a place in which to study—otherwise it would indeed be divorced from the wider context of life in the university. An essential feature of an Oxford or Cambridge college is the library—providing both books for study and a place in which to study them. This again is a lesson which the Hall would do well to learn. It is too often assumed that because, at least in most new Halls, all students have single rooms, the provision of library accommodation is scarcely necessary. This is indeed a grave mistake—first of all because nothing helps so much to engender an atmosphere of study and to encourage wide reading as a library on the premises, and secondly with ever-increasing numbers, additional stores of books for the use of students are a necessity—so why not have them in Halls of Residence? As for the single-room argument, most students when working hard for an examination reach the stage when they cannot stand solitude within their own four walls and find help and encouragement in the sight of other students working around them. The Niblett Report devoted only half a sentence to the subject: 'A library with good reading accommodation is essential', but this recommendation has been largely ignored.

The fundamental argument in favour of Halls is that they do enable a university student to be one for twenty-four hours a day while he is in residence during the university term, so that this is for the time being his life, whereas in other circumstances there tends inevitably to be a dichotomy which may, and in fact often does, have an adverse effect even on academic performance. A Hall, in fact, will help a student to know what universities are for—he must make up his mind about this just as much as the senior members of the university community.

However, a consideration of the university community in 1960 must take account of things as they are, and the fact remains that some universities have as few as 7 per cent of their students in residence and even when the percentage is as high as 25 per cent or 35 per cent, the majority of students still live either in lodgings or at home. What of them? There is no doubt that their present situation is unsatisfactory—what are the steps which might be taken, and which some universities have already taken, to enable this 'deprived' class to feel themselves really a part of the university community? If the deplored and deplorable 'nine-to-five'

mentality is to be discouraged, it must first of all be discouraged in the senior members of the academic community, so that they do not invariably rush home (which may be hours away) as soon as they have given their lectures, and do not even put in an appearance on days when they do not lecture. In the second place the university buildings must not close at 5 p.m.—there should be library, reading-room or common-room facilities until 9.30 or 10 p.m., and Union facilities should be extended so that it is possible to get an evening meal.

These measures by themselves, however, would scarcely be sufficient to induce a complete change of attitude. Far more effective in my opinion would be the provision of non-residential Halls, to which students would be attached as to a residential one, providing all the facilities of such a Hall with the exception of beds, including a resident warden and Senior Common Room, but necessarily situated within the university precinct. The University of Reading has something of the kind which apparently works very well. Expenditure in this direction seems to me more urgent and more necessary than the immediate expansion of already large Unions. Such non-residential Halls might well play the same kind of rôle as Fitzwilliam House and St Anne's Society and eventually, like them, become fully residential. Certainly in the interim they should foster that corporate spirit without which the university community would be a concept void of meaning.

These are some aspects of the theme of the university community which seemed to me to be both important and to require discussion and clarification. Certainly if we take the ideal of university education (and I think it is necessary to have ideals in order to continue or to build up anything worth while) as it has developed in this country, regarded as a preparation not only for a profession but also for life, the university stands or falls according to its capacity to create a university community in which both teachers and taught may, in the words of Newman, be 'brought by familiar intercourse and for the sake of intellectual peace, to adjust together the claims and relations of their respective subjects of investigation'.

JOHN SWINNERTON PHILLIMORE

Introductory Note

WHEN J. S. Phillimore died in November, 1926, after being for twenty-seven years Professor at Glasgow, his friends and joint executors, George Stuart Gordon and Steuart Napier Miller, agreed to write a memoir which should stand as preface to a select collection of Phillimore's prose and verse. Miller engaged to undertake the research and to collect the materials, while the Memoir was to be actually written by Gordon, who in 1922 had succeeded Sir Walter Raleigh as Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford.

When Gordon died in 1942 Miller immediately took steps to recover the materials which he had sent to him for the Memoir. So much is apparent from Miller's papers. On Miller's own sudden death, in 1952, I was summoned by his widow and literary executor, Mrs Hilda Miller, and I found among his papers the Memoir selections from which appear below and will be concluded in the next number of THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

Since Miller, at least in his later years, seems rarely if ever to have mentioned the Memoir to his friends, there may seem to be some doubt about its authorship. Several reasons, however, of which the style and the typing are among the most conclusive, make it practically certain that Miller is the author, and the sole author, of the work of which about two-thirds is now offered to the public.

Is anyone to blame for the lapse of thirty-four years between the publication of this (still unfinished) Memoir and the death of its subject—one so eminent as a man and as a Catholic, as a scholar and a poet? Only those, I believe, will say so who fail to ponder all the circumstances or to realize how difficult it is for a scholar, already heavily committed in other directions, to find the time demanded by a project conceived on this scale and originally tied to the more complex project of publishing a volume of selections from Phillimore's writings. Moreover, as will appear presently, both Miller and Gordon paid tributes in other forms to their friend and master.

Yet the precise history of the Memoir (or of its delay) is largely a matter of conjecture. Perhaps the decisive fact was that Gordon,

already in 1926 presiding over the English School at Oxford, soon found himself immersed in additional administrative duties, being elected President of Magdalen in 1928 and Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1938. It is, indeed, well known that, for all his fertility of mind and elegance of scholarship, he was not always successful in producing in book-form even the children of his own teeming brain. In the Preface to his posthumously published *The Discipline of Letters*¹ Mrs Mary Gordon writes:

The curiosity of his mind . . . the boundless diversity of his interests, and the increase of his administrative duties, all combined to frustrate his plans for his *œuvres de longue haleine*.

Steuart Miller was not initially faced with the same task of combining scholarship and literature with administration, and it is a safe presumption that, had he been initially assigned the role of actually writing the Memoir, he would have completed the task within a comparatively short time. By the time of Gordon's death, however, Miller's own health was failing and his energies were already taxed, and over-taxed, by a number of archaeological team-projects from which, since he played the leading part, he could not withdraw. Moreover, Gordon's death had changed the nature of his task and already the passage of time had complicated it. It is rather a matter for admiration that he accomplished so much.

Meanwhile Miller had written the account of Phillimore's life for the *Dictionary of National Biography 1922-1930*. This volume was published in 1937, and in the same year George Gordon, now Professor of Poetry, composed a splendid tribute to Phillimore in the form of a lecture delivered in Oxford. This lecture now occupies the last twenty-three pages of *The Discipline of Letters*. Indebted on the factual side to Miller's contribution to the *D.N.B.*, to which Gordon twice refers, and apparently in a few places also to the unpublished Memoir, this lecture spoke of Phillimore's 'occasional and still scattered papers and prefaces—pungent, challenging, brimming with ideas', and was intended to 'advance the day of a Select Collection of his prose and verse'.

It has seemed, on the whole, better to offer this work frankly as an *opus imperfectum* rather than to have it worked over and completed by another hand; this was the choice of the Phillimore family. My own editorial labours have been mainly confined to tailoring the MS. to the (very generous) measurements specified by the Editor of *THE DUBLIN REVIEW* and to supplying some factual footnotes. Notes initialled 'S.N.M.' formed part of the original MS.

I thank the Editor of *THE DUBLIN REVIEW*—and I believe I may do so in the name of a wide circle of admirers of Phillimore, present

¹ Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1946; out of print.

and future—for printing these substantial extracts from a Memoir which publishers in general, while recognizing its quality and importance, have found too long for an article and too short for a book.

A word about the author of the Memoir. Steuart Miller was educated at the High School of Glasgow, the University of Glasgow and Trinity College, Oxford. A distinguished Roman historian and archaeologist, he was for some years a lecturer at Glasgow University and was a contributor to the *Cambridge Ancient History* and Eyre's *European Civilization*. He also conducted excavations of Roman sites in Scotland and at York. Living with his wife at Damhill Lodge, he was a member of the small Catholic circle, which included Phillimore, Major M. V. Hay and the late Father W. E. Brown, that used to meet occasionally at Corehouse, in Lanarkshire, the residence of the Edmonstoun-Cranstouns.

A. A. STEPHENSON, S.J.

A MEMOIR

By STEUART N. MILLER

Oxford

JOHN SWINNERTON PHILLIMORE was born on 26 February 1873, at Boconnoc, in Cornwall. It happens that this is the only English dwelling-place that is mentioned by name in the poems of Robert Burns, and in one of his public addresses Phillimore himself remarked on its appearance there as a curious circumstance.¹ It may be taken as the starting-point of the story of a man who lived and worked in Glasgow as a professor of the University from his twenty-seventh year to his death on 19 November 1926, and who was as remote from Scotland in his origins and formation as was the house where he was born.

He was the fourth son of Admiral Sir Augustus Phillimore of Shedfield, Hampshire, and of Harriet Eleanor, daughter of the Hon. George Fortescue of Boconnoc, son of the first Earl Fortescue. The Swinnerton in his name came from a Staffordshire family, to which he was related through a paternal ancestor, William Bagot.

¹ The name occurs in Burns's 'The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer', l. 20: 'Tell ye guid bluid o' auld Boconnock's', where the reference is to the Earl of Chatham, who was the second son of Robert Pitt of Boconnoc in Cornwall. *The Burns Encyclopedia* by Maurice Lindsay (Hutchinson of London, 1959).

For generations the Phillimores had been distinguished for service in the Church, in the Navy and Army, in the Law, and in branches of learning and letters closely related to the public service. It is not surprising that John Phillimore recognized his Chair at Glasgow, not merely as a means of giving to the learned the fruits of private researches, but as imposing upon him as his prime duty the instruction of large numbers of young students, a personal attention to administrative arrangements, and a vigilant attendance at academic committees. Nor was his activity confined within the walls of the University. Outside as well as inside he helped to form the mind of his own and the succeeding generation. The work in scholarship and letters which he left unfinished has been rightly described by George Gordon as 'great projects postponed to the performance of public duty'.¹

There was one field which Phillimore reserved for 'that degree of repose and egoism' which he once described as 'perhaps necessary for authorship': that was the poetry in which he composed 'the intimate unrest of mind and passion' within the forms of a careful art. But his more public activity, even when it carried him far beyond the limits of the academic world, was hardly less personal and intellectual. For a man of his kind it was wisdom and good fortune that he lived free enough from external disturbances for experience and study to be fertilized by reflexion; and the story of his life was essentially the history of the growth and action of his mind.

His father's family had a traditional connexion with Westminster School, and there he was elected into College as a Queen's Scholar in 1885. In his later life he was inclined to speak of the public schools with disfavour, but he always excepted Westminster, which he would insist was different from the others. He used to say that, while dons at Oxford left but a faint impression, schoolmasters were figures that remained in the mind, and he would speak with especial respect of the Headmaster of his time, the forceful Scottish teacher and scholar, W. G. Rutherford. In Phillimore Rutherford recognized a pupil who was not only richly gifted with talent but was 'patient and resolute', and he anticipated with confidence the fulfilment of the brilliant promise of the schoolboy.

In 1891 Phillimore passed on to Christ Church as a Westminster Scholar. Year by year at Oxford he appropriated as if by natural right the major awards for classical scholarship,² but a turn for linguistic

¹ This, apparently a quotation from Gordon's lecture (see the last sentence in the printed version), was presumably written after 1942. And probably all of this first section was written then. Most of the MS., however, including those extensive portions which were all but ready for the printer was apparently written before 1942; certain references, e.g. to the source-material, seem clearly to have been intended, not for publication, but for Gordon's guidance.

² In addition to gaining first class honours in Classical Moderations and *Litterae Humaniores*, Phillimore was Ireland, Craven and Hertford Scholar and won the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse.

exercises was only one of a great diversity of tastes and talents, which it tried his health as well as the qualities of character discerned in him by Rutherford to control and balance. In the vacations, at home or on visits to Chilworth, in the Isle of Wight, the home of his sister, Mrs Willis Fleming, he did not withdraw himself for continuous study from the occupations of the country-house; in 1893, in August, he was on a walking-tour with Hilaire Belloc in eastern France; in the long vacation of the following year he was in Italy, and from there he made the first of a series of climbing expeditions to the Dolomites, where he won a name as a mountaineer. In term time, at Oxford, the variety of his reading, modern as well as ancient, must have perturbed his tutors, if they were aware of it; and he was already making himself known as a poet by his contributions to the *Oxford Magazine*. Meanwhile he was taking his place in the more public life of the University, and in 1895 he was President of the Union, President of the Palmerston Club, and 'Idol' of the undergraduate magazine, the *Isis*. At the Union he was admired as president for his urbanity and especially for a courteous attention to dull or blundering speakers, and as a debater for a pleasantly acid quality which flavoured what the writer¹ of the 'Isis Idol' described as 'a delightful sort of jest in which the laughter lies in applying just the word which would describe a thing if that thing were sufficiently different from itself to be funny'. It was a subtler kind of wit than the sarcasms of F. E. Smith (first Earl of Birkenhead), who had been President of the Union a few terms before Phillimore. Other contemporary presidents were Hilaire Belloc, the most eloquent of Union orators of that time, and J. A. Simon (Lord Simon), one of the most judicious.

All these three took to politics, and two of them found there their reward. For Phillimore also many anticipated a political career, but those who knew him best must have been doubtful. Mr Phillimore, said the writer of the 'Isis Idol':

is a Liberal in politics, though one would hardly have thought so. . . . It is the conviction of his friends that he deduces all his political applications from the highly abstract conception of a Really Existent Liberal Party, independent of accidentals and homogeneous. . . . It will be agreed that he speaks with an especial brilliancy on matters which can be treated of more or less independently.

His political ideas at this period may be gathered from a volume of *Essays in Liberalism*² which he, then a Student of Christ Church, and a few of his political associates at Oxford, published in 1897—the year in which, following the Jameson Raid in 1896, Queen Victoria's second

¹ Phillimore and Belloc appear to have 'idolized' each other in the *Isis*.

² *Essays in Liberalism*, by Six Oxford Men (London).

Jubilee was commemorated by Kipling's 'Recessional'. Phillimore's contribution expresses an 'unshaken faith in nationalism as the prime principle of all greater politics', but it is a nationalism to which 'the work of a nation in the world' is not a mere expansion of territory or revenue but 'to express at its highest perfection its national type'; and this national perfection was to be but one element in a pattern of civilization diversified and enriched by the characteristic contributions of other peoples.

In the concurrence of national varieties in the enrichment of a common patrimony Phillimore recognized Germanism as a disturbing force. Fresh from the reading of Deroulède at the age of eighteen, he had brought with him to Oxford an antipathy to Prussianism, only to find that there its military prestige had rehabilitated the vogue of the older Germanism which had been the official wear since the Prince Consort imposed the fashion. In Cook Wilson he found 'a noble guide to the mysteries of Aristotelian logic', but he had also to listen to the 'dull and vapid' Hegelianism of Edward Caird; and beyond Hegel and Kant he already discerned the baleful figure of Luther. The English religious establishment, with the public schools and the older universities as its adjuncts, he was beginning to suspect for a system which insulated England from the traditional culture of Europe, and within England itself, in spite of political levelling, inhibited 'that genuine friendly equality whose home is the café of a Latin country'.

The Latin element which an Englishman sensible of his complex heredity of race and culture requires for integrity of mind and an equal temperament, Phillimore obtained not only from literature and the arts and from travel but, more intimately, from two friends, Hilaire Belloc and Francis Yvon Eccles,¹ in whom France and England were compounded by parentage. With a fellow-undergraduate of Phillimore's at Christ Church, as English as himself, they were 'the intrepid four' who formed the Republican Club which Belloc has commemorated in a 'Dedicatory Ode',²

The first who dared to live their dream,
And on this uncongenial land
To found the Abbey of Theleme.

We kept the Rabelaisian plan:
We dignified the dainty cloisters
With Natural Law, the Rights of Man,
Song, Stoicism, Wine and Oysters.

¹ See *The Catholic Who's Who*. Two years Phillimore's senior, Eccles was, like him, educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, and was received into the Church a few years before him; sometime Professor of French Literature in the University of London.

² H. Belloc, *Sonnets and Verse* (Duckworth), pp. 76-83, which is dedicated to Phillimore.

All this Phillimore would enjoy, but in his own very English manner—with a 'reserve [to quote again the writer of the "Isis Idol"] which Thompson calls a "high reticent way".' The Republican Club, it will be recognized, was one of those close conspiracies of friendship that undergraduates form to nourish and reserve the vitality and sensitivity of growth; and in a surviving fragment of a diary it figures mysteriously as 'the R.C.' and its proceedings are recorded in a conspiratorial Latin. But Belloc has disclosed its secret in an English which will perpetuate the betrayal:

From quiet homes and first beginning,
Out to the undiscovered ends,
There's nothing worth the wear of winning,
But laughter and the love of friends.

And oh! the days, the days, the days,
When all the four were off together:
The infinite deep of summer haze,
The roaring charge of autumn weather!

But I will sit beside the fire,
And put my hand before my eyes,
And trace, to fill my heart's desire,
The last of all our Odysseys.

The quiet evening kept her tryst:
Beneath an open sky we rode,
And passed into a wandering mist
Along the perfect Evenlode.

The tender Evenlode that makes
Her meadows hush to hear the sound
Of waters mingling in the brakes,
And binds my heart to English ground.

To Phillimore at this time, still groping for the purpose which should regulate awakened powers of action and intellect disputing for precedence, life was too full of 'the joy of all things to be thought and done' to be mapped out as a career. And it would have been alien to his genius to do this, for he was one of those who keep themselves open to the encounter of circumstances, and in meeting these, not according to a plan but with an instinctive consistence of personality, gradually achieve themselves and define their end. The immediate future was

settled for him when Christ Church made him Lecturer in 1895, gave him a year's leave of absence, and on his return elected him Student (1896) and Tutor (1898).

Of his year's leave of absence seven months, from January to July 1896, were spent in Italy. There he went the round of the greater libraries, investigating and collating manuscripts of Latin poets: some surviving notes show him at work on Lucan and Statius. For the greater part of his time he was in Rome, mostly at the Vatican Library. It was not easy for a powerful and general intellect, just released from pupilage, to submit itself to a minute and largely mechanical servitude, and it would be a comfort to him when he was able to enter in his diary, under 4 February, that he 'saw the great Mommsen, aureoled in a fringe of long white hair, working diligently his four hours at the Vatican this morning'. This was a figure to reassure the young scholar that he was entering the noviciate of no dishonourable company.

And what's the sum of all his life? The gaps
Of time in some dim chronicle made good,
Or some old poet better understood.

No, not in vain: for all in all must reach
—Though to the world seemed waste his perfecting
In some one little and unvalued thing—
Heaven by perfection wrought of each in each.

In these rough and unfinished lines, jotted down in an Italian diary amongst the names and numbers of Latin manuscripts, he is justifying himself to himself turned specialist. The justification, it will be seen, is not of this world. Perhaps he was removing it for safety well beyond the uncomprehending urbanity he encountered at the Embassy and the friendly indifference of the social sphere which revolved about it and presented so disconcerting a contrast with his seedy and wistful company in the Vatican Library. But he required no such reminder of the relation of the *civitas terrena* to the *civitas Dei*, for fragments of verse show that he was continuously distracted at this time between the dual citizenship; and this division and distress of mind persisted when he returned to England and went into residence at Christ Church at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term.

Phillimore returned to Oxford to find it shrunken for him to a single College set in the streets of a small provincial town. The *universitas* of his undergraduate life, with a vital centre in the political contests of the Union, had contracted to membership of the Magazine Committee and the dilettantism of the Horace Club. The once hospitable

quadrangles of a score of colleges had become alienated territories, and his habitual acquaintance was now confined to a Senior Common-room and a few pupils.

Rutherford testified in 1899 that since Phillimore had become a Tutor at Christ Church he had 'seen term by term the admirable effects of his influence and teaching upon Westminster men there', and there are tributes from pupils as far afield as Scotland to a sympathetic teaching which attached to him men from other schools than Westminster and its type, and to 'that intimate mixture of intellectual subordination and intellectual comradeship' which Phillimore was to bring from Oxford to Glasgow. Yet fragments from a diary show that he did not yet find satisfaction in teaching. His pupils are 'dolt' or 'unpunctual creatures' and he is now encountering as a lecturer the polite apathy of the Oxford lecture-room, where 'jokes fall flat as slates'. With so little relish in the actual work of teaching, he was irked by its tiresome accompaniments: the marking of examination-papers, attendance at committees where there was 'much twaddling', the routine of Junior Commonroom business passed over to him as a junior Student—'a world of J.C.R. bills' or 'long talks with William' about 'cigars and rugs and ventilators'.

The social interchanges of the College he found pleasant enough, but his diary records far fewer visits paid by him to others' rooms than visits paid by others to his; and these he was inclined to feel as an interruption and sometimes even as an intrusion. He had neither privacy nor companionship. Oxford was losing its enchantment; the arrival of Belloc from London is an event. When he translates Verlaine's *Les Grotesques*,¹ he 'sent it off quite hot to F. Y. E[ccles]'.

The winter climate of Oxford depressed him in mind and affected his health. He was too restless for any steady work of scholarship, and he sought distraction in desultory reading. His 'Sunday's pleasure' was reading Dante, renewed week by week 'with undiminished rapture', but he spent most of his spare time in learning Russian, and he translated Lermontov's *A Hero of Nowadays*.² When he published this translation twenty years later, he wrote an introduction to it in which he coldly assessed the heroics of the author and his hero, but it shows the state of his mind at Oxford that he should have turned for sympathy to the Russian novel, and that he should have selected for translation this work of Lermontov. The truth is that there was something Byronic about Phillimore at this time—a sense of frustration that could mask itself as arrogance or egotism. He felt himself enmeshed in a Lilliputian network of trivialities, or (to use a figure of his own):

¹ 'The Enemies of Society' in *Poems* (James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, Publishers to the University, 1902).

² London, 1920; cf. *Things New and Old* (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918), pp. 18-25, 137.

Like some lithe beast who cannot swim across
A sudden flood: beleaguered, as he waits,

Narrowly round his twitching eager feet
The crystal siege of endless winding snares
Hurries and deepens; islanded he stares.
Famine! or drowning when the waters meet.

He must have been thinking of himself as he was at this period when he wrote long after in an address on Cardinal Newman that he knew no life more likely to bring a sensitive spirit within danger of madness than the life of an Oxford don. By then he could look back upon his old College with affection:

Dear and familiar stones and greens, when once more
peace
Lies large on summer nights in Wolsey's moonlit Quad.¹

But the peace in which he came to see it was the peace of his own mind.

How far he was from peace of mind when he was a Student of Christ Church is shown by his poems of this period. Some of these were read at the meetings of the Horace Club, but they were not club poetry but something very personal and even solitary, and they seem to have puzzled the Club. 'A society has been formed to study your poem,' the President of the Club once told him in a jocular letter. The members of the Horace Club were not the men to be defeated by verbal difficulties or Platonic forms, but the distress of mind there struggling for relief was probably beyond their friendly incomprehension. As it happened, Phillimore had already found a sympathetic mind and a lifelong companion in St Augustine, whose *Confessions* he had first read in Italy in 1896 'with profit and great delight'. Here was a mind to which Platonism had been a stage on the same *via dolorosa* as Phillimore was now travelling—and travelling upwards to the same conclusion:

As feels the cragsman, labouring over-braced,
A sob in his throat and on his tongue the taste
Of death, when just at point to faint and reel

Quite self-abandoned—let him look and read!
Lo! dint of steel-shod feet hath scored the place
To lend him hold and pledge him heart of grace
In the utmost Now-or-never to succeed!

¹ Op. cit., last stanza of the Charles Fisher 'In Memoriam'.

Then shall he bless that scrape of struggling nails
Which overcame; for therein character'd
Hope's fair sign manual shews the saving word
*Another went this way: which known, he no more fails.*¹

The image came naturally to one who spent his vacations in ascending peaks in the Dolomites. His mountaineering was a part of his interior life—an escape from confinement and a release of power:

Oft as the pilgrim spirit, most erect,
Dares the poor dole of *Here* and *Now* reject,
The lust of larger things invades and fills—
The heart's homesickness for the hills, the hills!²

But his achievement as a mountaineer deserves a notice to itself.³

Phillimore's contribution to *Essays in Liberalism* had been rather the close of his undergraduate interest in politics than the beginning of a political activity as a don. This is to be seen rather in his connexion with the *Speaker*, of which he became one of the proprietors when it was edited by J. L. Hammond.⁴ He himself seems to have used it rather as a vehicle for the publication of occasional verses than as a means of political activity. But it is possible that he had, as his friends certainly expected of him, some idea of taking an active part in politics. Nor was that idea set aside, perhaps it was rather encouraged, by a great change in the field in which his academic work was done.

From Oxford to Glasgow

In 1899 Phillimore was elected to the Chair of Greek at Glasgow in succession to Gilbert Murray, and in Glasgow he was destined to find his life's work. After some years his colleague, G. G. Ramsay, resigned the Chair of Humanity and the vacancy was advertised. Phillimore desired to transfer to the Chair of Humanity (Latin), and with the co-operative good will of the University authorities the transference was effected with the minimum of formality. The correspondence shows considerable skill and great fairness on the part of Phillimore, who was placed in a delicate situation by requests for testimonials or support from rival candidates who did not know, or did not

¹ Op. cit., 'Eloquar an sileam?' (1907).

² *Poems*, p. 74; written in 1897.

³ This next chapter in the MS., 'Mountaineering in the Dolomites, 1894-1899', is omitted in these selections.

⁴ Editor, 1899-1906.

know for certain, of the proposed transference. The correspondence also shows that if Phillimore's shy feeler in June had not been met by Henry Jones¹ with strong encouragement ('If you want the Latin Chair you will get it . . .') followed by effective action, Phillimore might never have been Professor of Humanity. As it was, the transference gave him great satisfaction. He was a Latinist. In giving thanks for his portrait nineteen years later, he said: 'there is something akin to a sacramental virtue in the very subject I have to teach'. The transference unified his work, and at the same time gave him a position from which he exercised a wide influence upon and through the students of the Arts Faculty.

Though no formal ceremony marked his occupation of his new Chair, at the beginning of his first session (1906-7) as Professor of Humanity Phillimore gave an address to his new students—not, he remarked, an Inaugural, though it perhaps ought to be called a Transitional. The *Glasgow Herald* of the following day reported that, after paying a tribute to his predecessor:

Professor Phillimore proceeded to consider the questions—Why learn Greek? Why learn Latin?—questions which, he said, they seemed to have been answering in one form or another ever since Mr Gladstone entitled his Glasgow Rectorial Address 'On the place of Greece and Rome in the Providential Order'.

As reported in the *Glasgow Herald*, the 'Transitional' is not a particularly good specimen of a Phillimore address, but it is characteristic of Phillimore's method in that he sets up here, as his way was, a butt to give a definite mark to direct his fire upon. Here the butt is Andrew Carnegie, who must have done or said something about this time to annoy professors of Classics.

According to Phillimore, Carnegie—and most of the nineteenth century with him—suffered from a disease which was 'diagnosed by a good man and a good poet—and an Irishman—who wrote more than fifty years ago' as 'the sophism of an imaginary elevation':

The cure was History—and History did not begin with the beginnings of the language that Dr Carnegie could read. And the only really rich and nutritious study of history or literature was the study which kept them inseparably connected. . . . They should not be misled by the expression 'dead language'.

Every language was dead to those who could not read it. Latin was dead to Dr Carnegie because Dr Carnegie was dead to Latin. Chinese or Kaffir was a dead language to himself and he believed to

¹ Sir Henry Jones (1852-1922) succeeded Caird in the chair of moral philosophy in 1894; Gifford lecturer 1920-1; in 1906 he was a member of the University Court.

most of them, though millions of people expressed themselves in the peculiar clicks and grunts of these vernaculars; but although according to utilitarian divisions Kaffir and Chinese were alive and Latin was dead, that did not give Kaffir or Chinese a literature, nor, if it did, could it give Kaffir or Chinese any place in the roots of our own language and literature, where the Latin was inextricably embedded.

The Humanity Class at Glasgow was formidable by reason of its size and high spirits, its barbed and boisterous wit. Phillimore, however, found himself immediately on terms with them and was soon writing to a friend¹: 'My Latin armies treat me with benevolent forbearance and it is nice to be Latinizing again.'

The Scholar

With the transference to the Humanity Chair the major movements of Phillimore's life came to an end. From 1906 to his last illness and death in 1926, his life passed in a regular alternation of Glasgow winters and Shedfield summers, varied by an occasional visit, as an examiner, to Ireland, and by brief and infrequent visits abroad.

While Professor of Greek, Phillimore had published a translation in rhymed verse of three plays of Sophocles, with an introductory essay,² and had edited for the Clarendon Press a text of Propertius and a text of Statius' *Silvae*. After his transference to the Humanity Chair he contributed to the *Classical Quarterly*, the *Classical Review*, *Mnemosyne*, and other periodicals a steady stream of notes, linguistic and textual, on Latin authors. He published a translation (with a preface on Translation) and an *Index Verborum* of Propertius in 1906, and he set to work upon a large-scale edition of that poet.³

Except for the writing of an article on 'Greek Literature' in 1918 for *Harmsworth's Encyclopaedia*, his facility in Greek now exercised itself in studies of the intellectual and religious life of the Roman Imperial period, and a translation of Philostratus' *Apollonius of Tyana*, introduced by a characteristic essay, appeared in two volumes in 1912.⁴ A study of Dio Chrysostom he left unfinished. From time to time he published a series of papers and addresses on classical subjects, notably 'The Greek Romances' (in *English Literature and the Classics*),⁵ 'Some Remarks on Translation and Translators'⁶ (1919), 'The Revival of Criticism'

¹ S. N. Miller (November 1906).

² London, 1902, being the second volume in the series, 'The Athenian Drama'.

³ This was never completed.

⁴ *Philostratus: In honour of Apollonius of Tyana* (Oxford).

⁵ Collected by G. S. Gordon (Oxford, 1912).

⁶ English Association Pamphlet No. 42.

(1919),¹ *'Ille Ego'*² (1920), and *Pastoral and Allegory*.³ In the year of his death he wrote an Introduction to a reprint of Francis Hickes' translation of the *Vera Historia* of Lucian (1926). In the same year he published in a popular series a selection of *The Hundred Best Latin Hymns*. A substantial work on Christian Latin poetry he did not live to complete. It remains to add, if only as evidence of his range and versatility as a scholar, that he contributed to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (1907-14) articles on 'Glasgow University', 'Hesychius of Alexandria', 'Paley (Frederick Apthorp)', 'Procopius of Caesarea', 'Romanos (Saint)', and 'St Andrews University'.

During these twenty years Phillimore's growing reputation as a Latinist is reflected in his correspondence with scholars like Robinson Ellis, A. E. Housman, L. C. Purser, W. M. Lindsay, E. A. Sonnenschein, D. A. Slater, W. R. Hardie, A. Souter, J. H. Baxter, J. Sargeant, A. D. Godley, Herbert W. Greene of Lincoln's Inn, R. J. Walker, W. A. Goligher (T.C.D.), Charles Exon (T.C.D.), and others. In 1917 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of St Andrews, and in 1921 that of D.Litt., from Trinity College, Dublin.

The foreign scholars with whom Phillimore corresponded were none of them Germans. They were Italian or French. On 12 February 1924 Jean Malys, the *Délégué-Général* of the *Association Guillaume Budé*, wrote to Phillimore, 'J'attends avec impatience votre recueil d'hymnes', and warmly invited his collaboration with the Association. Phillimore's active interest in the *Association Budé* was due to his desire that the German preponderance in classical studies should be challenged by Italian, French and English scholarship. In this connexion two letters of J. Vessereau, the editor of *Rutilius Namatianus*,⁴ are of interest. The first, from Poitiers (10 November 1905), acknowledges Phillimore's *Silvae*:

'... Tout ce que vous dites dans votre Préface sur ce dernier MS. et sur le rapport qu'il peut avoir avec celui qui devait se trouver entre les mains du Pogge me paraît très clair, très sensé, et très nettement discuté; ce sont là qualités rares, pour nous, français, surtout, qui pendant si longtemps avons été contraints, et le sommes encore quelquefois, à chercher au delà du Rhin les renseignements dont nous avons besoin dans les études de ce genre.'

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the Classical Association at Oxford and published by B. H. Blackwell.

² *Ille Ego: Virgil and Professor Richmond* (Oxford University Press) was a reply to the last part of *Classics and the Scientific Mind* (James Thin, Edinburgh, 1919), the inaugural of O. L. Richmond, Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh. Richmond sharply criticized, and Phillimore strongly defended, the inclusion by Sir Arthur Hirtzel, in his edition of Vergil in the Oxford Classical Texts, of the four autobiographical lines beginning *Ille ego* before *Arma virumque*, etc., at the beginning of the *Aeneid*.

Educated at Eton and King's, Oliffe Leigh Richmond edited *Propertius* in 1928.

³ Oxford, 1925.

⁴ In collaboration with F. Préhac (Paris, 1933). A schoolmaster in the Lycée at Versailles, Vessereau also edited the *Aetna* for Budé in 1923.

The second letter, dated 3 March 1906, from Poitiers, acknowledges a copy of Phillimore's *Index Verborum Propertianus*:

... un complément très apprécié de votre excellent 'Properce' ... Avec les précieuses collections de textes dont s'enrichit peu à peu l'Angleterre, nous deviendrons moins souvent tributaires de l'érudition germanique; il est fâcheux pour nous, en France, mais honorable pour vous, que nous nous laissions, d'une façon générale, pareillement distancer.

Vessereau had made acquaintance with Phillimore's *Propertius* from hearing it praised by Frédéric Plessis,¹ 'chargé de cours à la Sorbonne'. In 1911 Plessis received the degree of LL.D., from the University of Glasgow, and lectured on Auguste Angellier (then recently dead) at Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen, under the auspices of the Franco-Scottish Society. When in Glasgow he stayed at 5 The College, and no doubt it was Phillimore also who had contrived the honorary degree and the lecturing tour. Their correspondence, which had begun as early as 1909, when Plessis acknowledged a copy of Phillimore's *Silvae*, continues in nearly a score of letters to 1924. A letter of 10 October (?) 1910 acknowledges Phillimore's paper on the text of the *Culex*: 'Vous savez quelle estime j'ai pour votre savoir et votre talent'—though he does not agree that the *Culex* could be Virgil's.

Phillimore met Plessis again, in Paris this time, in October 1918, when he lectured at the Sorbonne in the course of his mission to France in the last days of the War. A subsequent letter from Plessis has the postscript: 'P. Lejay me dit qu'il a beaucoup goûté vos dernières corrections de *Térence*.' On 3 January 1920 Plessis thanks Phillimore for his 'Revival of Criticism', 'que j'ai lu et relu avec tant d'intérêt et de plaisir.' He sided with Phillimore against the Germans and Germanizers like Havet² and Havet's pupil Lejay³:

¹ Frédéric-Edouard Plessis, born 1851, scholar, poet and novelist; collaborated with P. Lejay in editing the complete works of Horace.

² 'Pierre-Louis Havet, professeur et philologue ... né et mort à Paris (1849-1915). Latiniste de premier ordre, il ouvrit la voie aux études sur la métrique de la prose latine ...' (*Larousse du xx^e siècle*).

While the general argument of *The Revival of Criticism* is that the new scientific techniques of scholarship can never supersede art (the *sens littéraire*), Phillimore here speaks of 'the epoch-making excellence of the work done by Havet and [A. C.] Clark ... in itself ... a Revival of Criticism ... Havet's great book ... Havet's masterpiece.' But, while allowing the necessity and the honourable character of such pursuits as palaeography and the classification of MSS., he holds that these sciences are ancillary; they provide data which the literary expert must judge. He vindicates emendation by asserting (1) the fallibility of copyists; (2) 'Is it not of the essence of any work of literary art (especially Classical) that it has strict form and pattern and law and therefore an intrinsic power of repair ... in case of superficial damage? ... Either it is Virgil's latinity or it is scribe's latinity. Which?'

³ Abbé Paul Lejay (1861-1920), editor of Ovid, Vergil and Horace (*Satires*, 1911); his originality lay in wedding *la philologie* with history (*Larousse*).

La critique est un art beaucoup plus qu'une science . . . la reconstitution des textes est, pour une grande part, affaire de psychologie et de sens littéraire. Il y a déjà bien des années que j'ai été frappé par la supériorité que donnent aux Anglais, dans leurs éditions des auteurs latins, leurs qualités de moralistes, d'observateurs de l'homme, leur goût de la beauté, ce qui manquent en général aux Allemands, et ce que ne leur remplacent pas leurs documents et leur esprit mathématique.

In a letter of 1 March 1920, acknowledging a copy of the '*Ille Ego*', he says of P. Lejay:

Ses 'méthodes' sont trop allemandes et 'Havetiques'. Il vous a sans doute en très haute estime, mais il vous reproche le goût des conjectures.

As for himself:

Je trouve votre argumentation en faveur de *Ille Ego* . . . très bien conduite, probante et, comme tout ce que vous écrivez, vivante et spirituelle. . . . Vous vous permettez de plaisanter le 'higher learning', la 'méthode' et la 'science' . . . moi, je suis de votre avis.

He returns to the same theme in a letter of 23 July 1920. By now P. Lejay is dead; Plessis will not *débrouiller* his notes. He is going seventy and is to give the rest of his time to literature, '*que je n'aurais jamais dû quitter pour l'université*.' Besides, he and Lejay were not in sympathy. Lejay, a pupil of Havet, was '*tout à fait germanisé, ne connaissant que le point de vue historique*', whereas Plessis says of himself, '*Je ne m'intéresse qu'au sentiment et à l'art*.'

In a letter of 1 June 1924, Plessis refers to an extract from *Mnemosyne* and to Terentiana by Phillimore in the *Classical Quarterly*:

J'admire votre activité au travail, votre fécondité et votre connaissance si vaste et si profonde de l'antiquité latine.

His own volume of Horace, he hopes, will appear in a few weeks:

Votre Horace, je dis vôtre puisque vous en avez accepté la dédicace, va paraître d'ici trois semaines, j'espère . . . J'aurais voulu vous offrir mieux. Enfin, tel quel, il sera précédé de ces quelques mots: 'Au professeur John Swinnerton Phillimore; au philologue, à l'humaniste, au poète; à l'éditeur de Properce et de Stace, au traducteur d'Apollonius de Tyane; à l'auteur de *Poems* et de *Things Old and New*; à l'ami, au collègue de l'Université de Glasgow—F.P.

And so the dedication stands in Plessis' *Odes and Epodes*.¹

Clearly it was the humanist and man of letters in the scholar that attracted Plessis to Phillimore—the supremacy of the *sens littéraire* even in the technical exercise of reconstituting texts. What attracted Plessis was made a reproach by others. And not only by Lejay. O. L. Richmond, writing from Vienna on 9 June 1906, about Phillimore's text of Propertius, says:

I confess (and you may call it gratuitous) that I am a good deal surprised to see you as content as you seem to be to comment on a single MS. of a poet. Your apparatus is N + unsupported emendation. . . . I am really *grieved* that you have not thought it worth while to examine the MSS. with your own eyes.

And W. M. Lindsay,² on 6 March 1919, referring to Phillimore's 'lance-breaking with the Cardiff champion' (Richmond), writes:

Though I cannot declare for 'him of the striped breeks',³ I *do* like his protest against 'The Latinists of England who live at home in ease' and will not take the trouble of visiting the (often frowzy) libraries of the Continent.

Yet Lindsay himself recognized that Phillimore could hit the mark by his direct method, and in a letter of 24 January 1920 he asks why he did not put an emendation (*aparchen*) of Statius, *Silvae*, 1, 6, 8, in the text and not merely in App. Crit., adding: 'It seems as convincing a divination as any made this century, except perhaps one or two of

¹ Paris, Hachette, 1924.

² William Martin Lindsay (1858-1937), Snell exhibitioner and fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; 'one of the greatest of British latinists' (C. J. Fordyce in the *D.N.B.*).

³ In the *Classical Review* of 1914-16 Phillimore had published a series of four sets of conjectural emendations of the text of Propertius (*In Propertium Retractiones Selectae*: *C. R.*, xxviii, pp. 7-12, 79-82; xxix, pp. 40-46; xxx, pp. 39-42). In the June 1916 number (*C. R.* xxx, pp. 110-116: 'Propertius: A Reply'), O. L. Richmond, then at University College, Cardiff, assailed the whole method of Phillimore's 'dogmatic divinations', concentrating his fire upon the last set (Propertius, IV, x). Among the battle-centres were lines 43-44:

*Illī virgatis iaculantīs ab agmina braci
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula,*

where Richmond emended the first line to

Illī virgatis iaculanti sagmina braci,

interpreting: 'even as he hurled his javelin at his foe's life-charm, the circlet fell from the severed neck of him of the striped breeks' (where the final phrase did not markedly differ from Phillimore's (Oxford 1906) translation, 'this warrior in striped breeches'). The controversy continued in *C. R.*, xxxi, pp. 86-96 and 126-127 and affords the fascinating spectacle of a duel between the rare *sens littéraires* of an accomplished latinist and the scientific method that leaned more heavily on the study and the evidence of the manuscripts.

These volumes of the *Classical Review* also contain textual notes by Phillimore on Terence, Horace and Catullus. Richmond later published an edition of Propertius.

Hausman's.' And three years earlier, in a letter of 10 February 1917, Herbert W. Greene (Lincoln's Inn), in discussing some Virgiliana by Phillimore in the *Classical Review*, says:

If ever an editor arises with courage enough to deny the verbal inspiration of Virgilian MSS., I shall hope to see the words disappear in favour of your emendation.

(This of *Ecl.* iii, 88).¹

It was not that Phillimore despised the *minutiae* of scholarship. Rutherford in a testimonial remarked on his carefulness about detail as a schoolboy, and his published work, his volumes of parallel passages for the big Propertius he had planned, and so on—all show his concern with technique. In one of his notebooks he transcribes St Jerome's *apologia* for technique: *non sunt contemnenda quasi parva sine quibus magna constare non possunt*. He could himself do a piece of detective work with zest, as his Introduction to his *Philostratus* shows. In a letter to S. N. Miller of 27 July 1910, he says:

I am having some fun with the Introduction, the historical part: the Severi make good reading, and there is a lot of amusing critical combination to be done in order to get at Philostratus' exact date—or rather to decide which of the three Philostrati wrote which part of the corpus Philostrateum. I have disproved the legend that Apoll. Tyan. was born in A.D. 1 by a private research: the major premiss of my demonstration is this—no woman can be so enamoured of a man 70 years her senior as to desire to become a mother by him! I think this must be granted. If so, Ap. Tyan. was born in the reign of Claudius.

¹ This, apparently, in a private letter. Phillimore had contributed to the *Classical Review* of 1916 (xxx, pp. 146–153) an article entitled 'Some Cruces in Virgil Re-considered'. These textual notes included conjectural emendations of *Ecl.* iii, 88 and iv, 62. Herbert W. Greene queried the latter in *C. R.*, xxx, pp. 191–2, maintaining that *ridere* with the accusative expresses hostile laughter and that the object of an approving or affectionate smile is in the dative. The passage is:

incipere, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem
... cui non risere parentes,
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

Phillimore, remarking that the proper Latin for 'We are not amused' is *Non ridemus te*, proposed the reading *qui* (supported by Quintilian) meaning 'babies from whom their parents can't coax a smile'. Greene, however, preferred to choose 'between the *cui* ... *parentes* of Conington, supported by the mss., and the *qui* ... *parenti* of Hirtzel, supported by the sense'. Phillimore defended his view by expanding his argument in a letter (*C. R.*, xxxi, pp. 23–24).

Ecl. iii, 88 reads:

Qui te, Pollio, amat, veniat quo te quoque gaudet, where interpreters generally 'supply' *veniss.* Phillimore proposed to substitute *Munati* for *veniat quo*, explaining that Munatius Plancus was a political ally of Pollio and that the true reading could have been lost either through MUNATI being first corrupted to MUNIAT, and this then 'corrected' to UENIAT, or because Virgil himself removed Munatius' name for political reasons.

He did not disdain the collation of manuscripts or the building up of their pedigrees. His papers include some correspondence about the photographing or loaning of MSS. at Rome (Vatican), Florence and elsewhere. Thus, in a letter to S. N. Miller of 28 August 1922, Phillimore wrote: 'To Oxford I go for a few days. . . . Gröningen is very obligingly sending over a MS. (Propertius) to the Bodleian for me to collate.' For visiting personally the 'frowzy' libraries of the Continent his work at Glasgow was too exhausting to leave him much time or inclination; and there was his love for the Hampshire countryside and his desire to be with his family and friends. But he may have taken Lindsay's criticism to heart, and a visit he paid to Italy a year or more before his death may have had to do with the study of Propertian MSS. He had begun his career as a scholar with such manuscript work, though in his Diary of that period he expresses some doubt as to whether he is doing much good. Probably he felt that it was not his job—or rather that it was a job that could be done by men who had not his special talents and that he ought to work in a field or on a method which would give these exercise. He seems to have relied mainly upon the direct impact of his mind upon a text, and to have used variant readings rather to guide or confirm conjecture than as matter for methodical comparison. But he had no objection to 'scientific' workers if they were not presumptuous in their claims or too mechanical in their method. He was not so exclusive a champion of the *sens littéraire* as Plessis, whom indeed he irritated a little (as appears from their correspondence) by his esteem for Lejay. At Glasgow he would have liked just such a collaborator as Plessis had in Lejay. His correspondence shows that he valued the advice of technicians—in prosody, for example; and he was very anxious to secure the services of an expert palaeographer for the Scottish universities, as appears in the next section.

In his Inaugural Address Phillimore spoke of a certain egotism as perhaps necessary for authorship. It may have been in that sort of egotism that his translation of Sophocles and his project for a large-scale edition of Propertius originated. In March 1901, less than two years after his appointment to the Chair of Greek, he addressed a printed protest to the Court, complaining that the institution of a Summer Session would not only interfere with his preparation of his lectures but would leave 'no possibility of accomplishing any project for independent work', adding that he did not 'suppose the Court desired to preclude the appearance of Glasgow Professors in the field of literature.' Even here it is implied that research and authorship are rather matters for a Professor's leisure than duties of his Chair. W. M. Lindsay, on the other hand, in a letter to Phillimore reproaching him with spending so much time on University business, insists that 'the highest duty of a University Professor is original work, research, or

whatever one likes to call it.' Phillimore held that the first duty of a Professor was to teach—and to teach the students who assembled in his classroom. The result is that his published work as a scholar, at least from the time of his appointment to the Latin Chair, is all occasional.

Thus, though he used to say that there were some things that he could not read without wanting to translate them, Phillimore's translation and study of Apollonius of Tyana was provoked by the views put forward in such works as J. M. Robertson's *Pagan Christs*. The remarks on Translation with which he introduced his own translation of Propertius are likewise controversial, and indeed the translation itself is a kind of protest and challenge. His *Some Remarks on Translation and Translators* is controversy. So is his *Methods and Purposes of Greek Study*,¹ his *Revival of Criticism*, and, of course, his *Ille Ego*. They look natural in their pamphlet dress, for pamphlets they are—not a little reminiscent of a speech in an Oxford Union debate.

But most of Phillimore's production as a scholar was a by-product of his teaching as a professor. Some of the papers described above as controversial were addresses delivered on academic occasions. It was his class teaching, however, that gave him continuous stimulus to steady production. In preparation for his lectures he would write out as if he were editing his author for publication, an introductory essay, translation and commentary. For this he would make a close and critical study of the text, and if he had occasion to repeat the course of lectures, he would study his author afresh. Hence the successive batches of Terentiana, Propertiana, etc., which appeared from time to time in the classical periodicals. With his *Pastoral and Allegory* it is part of one of his introductory essays that gets into print.²

Much of these essays would no doubt have passed into a *History of Latin Literature* which he engaged himself (about 1912) to write for the Home University series. There is nothing of this work among his papers. He intended to include the writings of Christian antiquity, and some of his published work gives evidence of wide reading in that field. Compare his study of hymnody from the fourth to the fourteenth century. Add also his reading in the Renaissance humanists. His project of collaborating with Lee Warner in the publication of a series of

¹ Inaugural (Glasgow, James MacLehose, 1899).

² This paragraph perhaps shows that the difference between Phillimore and Lindsay, though real, was not polar; and certainly that Phillimore would have agreed with O. L. Richmond's dictum (in his Inaugural): 'Our teachers must be original workers or their teaching will stale.' Three reasons may perhaps be suggested for Phillimore's failure to accomplish his major projects: (1) a possible deterioration in health—though it may be doubted if the Glasgow climate is unhealthy; (2) the great extension of the field of his research, while it enriched his scholarship, also hindered production; (3) as Richmond also remarked, university staffs elsewhere in Britain had less leisure than the dons, and especially the professors, of the same time at Oxford and Cambridge. Phillimore not only directed the teaching of his huge class; he taught them.

Renaissance texts had to be held over owing to the War. It was taken up again in August 1920, but apparently nothing came of it in the end. Add finally—to get a complete view of Phillimore's range as a humanist—his exercises in Latin as editor (notably in the *Praefatio* to his text of Statius) and as the writer, for Glasgow University, of complimentary addresses to other Universities, and as a teacher of composition in prose and verse. As early as 1898, as a young Tutor of Christ Church, he had collaborated with S. G. Owen in a collection of versions from English into Latin elegiac verse published under the title *Musa Clauda*.¹

(To be concluded)

ETON

Amongst the Public Schools

By Sir SHANE LESLIE

FOR reasons which are not always definable, Eton College has proved one of the most British of institutions peculiar to England, and one of the most envied in other countries. Imitations, whether at home or overseas, do not seem to have been successful.

Eton, though by her own claims the 'best of schools', is not the earliest, as Mr Hollis brings out². To Winchester must be awarded the primacy amongst all English Public Schools, although it was the purpose of her Founder, King Henry VI, that Eton should 'excel all other grammar schools and be called the mother and mistress of all other grammar schools'. In 1442 William Waynflete was brought over from Winchester to be Eton's first Schoolmaster, and with him he brought six Winchester scholars, so that if the Eton v. Winchester cricket match had taken place in the next year it could have been described as a match between Winchester School and Old Wykehamists. Hence the Christian and gentlemanly affection which has always prevailed between the two schools.

Both schools were Catholic foundations, and to that extent interest the mediaevalist as well as the historian of education. Previous centuries of the Faith had not produced this type of Public School. There were of

¹ Oxford Clarendon Press, 1898.

² *Eton: A History* by Christopher Hollis. (Hollis & Carter. 30s.)

course monastic schools and others attached to cathedrals, but Eton and Winchester offered an experiment. There was some necessity for such, owing to the barbarism and immorality of the times bequeathed by the Wars of the Roses. The preaching of the Lollards was a symptom of troubled minds just as ruined homes betoken a broken social system. Eton was founded to combat heresy and their disturbing social teaching as well as to promote education. The monks had failed to forward education with the times and caused reason for the rise of new colleges under secular clergy. William of Wykeham had suggested that his local grammar school should be attached to a college in the University: hence the admirable connexion between Winchester and New College, Oxford, to be followed by the equally famous sisterhood between Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Both of these traditions have lasted to this day, in spite of the inevitable improvements and popularizations which have been introduced.

Eton's earliest difficulties were not theological or financial to begin with, but political. Instead of two parties, there were two dynasties still engaged in war. Henry had founded Eton in a period of Lancasterian triumph. Pope Eugenius IV could not have done more to speed Eton on her way with Indulgence and Bull. Eton Chapel was dedicated to Our Lady of Eton and her Assumption. It is not too much to connect her famous heraldic colour with the Eton Blue of modern song and athletic strife. The chapel was made a place of penitence and prayer, but the pilgrims were required to contribute largely to the Crusade against the Turks. In the irony of time the wall of the ante-chapel was adorned with the names and arms of all Etonians fallen in national efforts made four centuries later to retain the said Turks in Europe.

Eton was intended to be a centre of prayer for the souls of the House of Lancaster. Provost, Fellows, Chaplains, Choristers, Scholars and later Commensals were collected round the site. In many ways the arrangement survived the centuries, except that the Scholars have been kept to seventy while the Commensals (town boys or day boys) who were graciously allowed to share their chapel and classroom have developed into the Oppidans, the bulk of modern Etonians always amounting to well over the thousand mark. This system of Commensals led to students overflowing into the town, where the Fellows were still bound to protect them. In later days Parliament forbade lodging-house keepers to take lodgers without leave of the Provost, whose surveyance of the Chapel remains to this day absolute, whether he is a layman or cleric. Mr Hollis does not estimate the Fellows very highly, as the Founder had to threaten deprivation for 'heresy, magic, simony, or notorious adultery'. But the first Fellow to leave the ranks was John Blakman, who became a Carthusian and wrote a personal account of Henry VI mingling amongst the boys and entreating them to be good and docile.

Unfortunately the wars were not over, and the king was taken prisoner by the Yorkist claimant to the throne, Edward IV. The Fellows, with miserable shamelessness, made subservience to the new king before he reached London. 'Henry's experiment was, it seemed, at an end. The College of Eton had had a lifetime of just twenty-one years.' The Yorkist king transferred the royal favours to Winchester, whom he entertained by the loan of a performing lion which markedly did not appear at any Eton festival.

King Henry was kept in durance until the Lancastrians drove Edward out of London. Eventually the gentlest and most pious of kings was martyred in the Tower. The Provost had the decency to attend the funeral in London, and his expenses were recorded as seven shillings and ninepence in the audit book. It was later that miracles attended the shrine in Windsor and that preparations were made for his canonization and eventual entombment in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey.

But this was cut short by the Reformation. Meanwhile two letters survive, written by one of the Pastons while at Eton, which give an idea of the School under King Edward. A new Provost secured the royal favour through Queen Elizabeth Woodville, as his epitaph recorded:

*Illius auspiciis elemosyna conjugis uncti
Edwardi Quarti pluebat opem*

which was very satisfactory compared to the college memory of Henry VIII:

Henricus Octavus
Took away more than he gave us

when it is remembered that that pilfering monarch relieved the College of a large acreage round Piccadilly and Knightsbridge, including the site of the leper house dedicated to St James on which the palace of that name survives today. This is the key to the puzzle which meets foreign diplomats assigned to the 'Court of St James'.

Eton tradition attributed Eton's renewal to Jane Shore, the king's beautiful mistress, who, apart from this lapse, was famous for her acts of charitable intervention with the king. No less than St Thomas More bears witness in his *Life of Edward IV* to her character in days of final poverty: 'At this day she beggeth of many at this day living that at this day had begged if she had not been here.' Two portraits of Jane Shore remain as a token if not an authentic account of what she achieved for Eton.

After the peaceful reign of Henry VII the great changes gradually

enforced themselves. As Mr Hollis succinctly puts it: 'Henry wanted not merely the Pope's authority but also his income:' surely the explanation of the whole period. Catholic rites and beliefs continued without most people understanding or caring about the Pope's authority. People loved the Mass and accepted the security of their religion. They took what they could out of religious Orders whom they abused in the way parsons today get abused for living too easy a life. But even so the coming of an overwhelming overhaul seemed impossible, even on the horizon. At Eton Masses were no longer said for Henry VI but for Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and the future Queen Elizabeth. What grace they acquired thereby only history and eventual judgement can decide. Eton managed to survive.

With the change-about following the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, Eton 'took no clear decision about its own future. It was content and grateful enough to go on living from day to day'. In other words, the College took a hint from the famous 'Vicar of Bray' down the river and meekly accepted its religious tone from the Castle, as it has to this day. To quote from a famous song in honour of the said Vicar, 'when George in pudding time' arrived on the scene, Eton became fulsomely Hanoverian, and Founders Day became obscured by the celebrated festival on the Fourth of June, which is only George III's birthday.

Under Elizabeth the distinguished Provost Savile introduced the learning of the Renaissance. His great achievement was an edition of St John Chrysostom at the School Press, with the Greek types which Oxford and Cambridge were afterwards humbly glad to acquire. Controversy no longer turned against Rome but between High Tudor Anglicans and the barefaced new Puritans. King Henry's pious scholars disappear into the background and the adventurous type of Old Etonian has already begun to make his mark.

John Greenhal, whose name is still traceable on the woodwork of Lower School, matriculated from King's before taking up the sporting career of a highwayman, being hung and dissected for his pains. Sir Francis Verney, a Commensal, matriculated from Oxford, married and deserted a wife before he was of age and made pilgrimage to Jerusalem before settling down as a Barbary pirate very successfully.

James I naturally put Murray, a Scotsman, into the Provostship, to be followed by Sir Henry Wotton, a distinguished diplomatist and a poet who wrote the lovely lines:

You meaner beauties of the night
That poorly satisfy our eyes, etc.,

to Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia. He became more famous for his definition of an ambassador as 'an honest man sent abroad to lie for his

country. King James rather cleverly riposted by telling him 'to speak the truth, for you shall never be believed!'

Wotton was a keen fisherman, and was commemorated in one of Izaak Walton's *Lives*. Under him and Savile Eton became imbued with the Renaissance and did good work in ridding Etonians like Henry More, the Platonist, and 'the ever memorable' John Hales, of their Calvinism.

Eton's troubles were never at an end, whether under Stuarts or the Commonwealth. The school was, of course, Royalist, but Puritan Fellows were taken as an insurance in Cromwell's days. The Commensals, who fed with the Scholars in Hall, ceased. The Oppidans slowly took their place. When Provost Steward joined the royal army, the rump of Lords remaining at Westminster replaced him with Provost Rous, who managed to carry on the School in Roundhead fashion. 'Saints' days were forgotten, and instead Parliamentary victories, such as Worcester, were celebrated with tobacco-smoking'. Chaplains were replaced by 'Conducts', so called because they were hirelings, a Latin name they bear to this day. Rous left his mark by planting the elms in the playing fields. He had time to become Speaker to the Barebones Parliament and to compose the metrical version of the Psalms still used in the Scottish Kirk, but happily not in our Lady's Chapel of Eton.

The Restoration procured a general exit of Puritans and 'pretended Saints'. Eton continued her wonderful powers of survival, and under All-stree took an upward turn from which she has never deviated. She now became the favourite breeding-ground of the aristocracy. Titled Oppidans were housed with private tutors. Well-conducted landladies blossomed into the famous race of Eton Dames which lasted into this century. James II visited Eton, and touched six scholars for the King's Evil. The great race of England's schoolmasters began with Newborough, who realized Eton's destiny as a training-ground for future statesmen such as St John, Wyndham, Walpole and Townshend.

It was a century before Harrow came into the lists and produced a bevy of Premiers. Both schools took town-boys. Eton received local tradesmen's sons as Scholars; hence the snobbish manner in which the Scholars on Tugs were treated by Oppidans into Victorian times. As Mr Hollis delicately remarks, Eton did not lose 'its traditional function, which was to turn out as gentlemen boys who had not been quite gentlemen when they entered'. Side by side with the special luxury in which Oppidans could be maintained there grew a brutality amongst the boys which only the pencil of Hogarth or the pen of Fielding could have illustrated. 'Thirteen boys died during Newborough's twenty-one years as Headmaster.' The little cemetery became as often used for boys as for old masters, while the Provosts had the right to pompous burial and entombment in the Chapel.

The eighteenth century gave Eton over to the Whigs and Latitudinarians. Snape, the Jacobite succession to Newborough, found his name struck out of the royal Chaplains. There was ill-feeling between the private tutors of noblemen and the assistant ushers who remained in a depressed condition. The Whigs maintained such an aristocratic atmosphere that noblemen in the School lists always appeared at the heads of their division. Fellows of Eton and King's interbred to an astonishing degree. They married each other's daughters and could retire to College livings. They formed a small society which unfortunately no Trollope or Jane Austen has immortalized. Collegers were badly neglected.

The Registers recently compiled by Austen Leigh and Walter Sterry give an idea of Eton's eighteenth-century successes:

Her soldiers Conway and Townshend, her bishop Cornwallis, her lawyers Bathurst, Pratt, Talbot; her statesmen Bute, North, the Foxes, Pitt, the Grenvilles. She gave Fielding and Horace Walpole to letters, Gray and West to poetry, Arne to music. But at the same time she still continued to turn out her eccentrics, her reprobates and her unfortunates. John Lane went into the Church, but holy orders did not save him from being shot by highwaymen in Epping Forest. Thomas Cannon, son of the Dean of Windsor, another Colleger, got himself imprisoned for writing a pamphlet of 'detestable impurity'.

No school except Eton would care to publish its black list, but here they are printed, such as William Parsons, an Oppidan, hung as a highwayman, or William Bird, executed at Tyburn for murder, etc.; but contemporaries included Lord Sydney, who gave his name to New South Wales, and Anthony St Leger, described as the patron saint of bookmakers. There were possibly converts to Rome a long way back, including one who became a cook at Douai. To quote from the best of Eton School Songs:

Some have written and some are bitten
With strange new faiths: desist
From tracking them: broker or priest or prince
They are all in the Old School List!

Registers give us a long list of humble trades, followed by Old Etonians or at least by their parents 'in those high aristocratic days. The noblemen were there too, but they were charged double!'

By the nineteenth century the School was an aristocratic preserve. The squirearchy were prosperous enough to hold their own. The Reform Bill and the Industrial Age brought a big change when the wealthy middle class, the speculators and city men began to force their

boys into the School as an assertion that they had reached the upper class and that their progeny were gentlemen. Eton's famous system certainly did its utmost to make this possible. The children of the *nouveaux riches* went under the harshness of fagging, not without the bullying which always accompanies an undisciplined power. Later the titled boys who lived under their home-paid tutors were passed into boarding-houses where they were treated as menials and liable to severe punishment by their fagmasters for the least disobedience or impertinence. The modern Eton had evolved.

The Headmaster, no longer the Provost, became the Eton monarch in the public eye. Such as Foster, Keate, Hawtrey, Hornby and finally Warre wound up the Victorian age. Some Headmasters were bad, some were catastrophic and brought the School into rebellion, but some attained national fame. Davies had to carry on in spite of a strike of the assistant masters. Goodall, hearing that a royal keeper had locked up a boy for the night for coursing in the park, treated it as a good joke which he shared with the School. Being uncertain whether high treason had been committed or not, he hoped that he would escape with his life. He was perhaps unaware that the boy spent the night in the arms of the keeper's daughter. These were the high old days.

Keate fought a long battle against the School, wielding the birch with famous zeal. Even a confirmation class were flogged as the result of a practical joke. However, he came in sight of the days of civilization, for Mr Gladstone was one of his victims for a slight act of deception. The accounts of flogging seem incredible unless it is understood that they failed to disgrace, and often failed to hurt the boy. After birching a hundred boys into the small hours of the morning Keate's forearm must have weakened. Nevertheless his was not the right policy for the School's sake. For a solid year subsequently there was no entry of a single new boy, and Keate resigned.

The block on which boys were birched became an object of ritual and veneration rather than of punishment. When Lord Waterford stole the block the Headmaster was left with nothing in its place, a priest without an altar. The birch was an instrument he was not allowed to use until the head boy presented him with one wreathed with light blue ribbons, and the block was a sacred accessory.

The School became unmanageable until discipline fell into the hands of the Sixth and the Captains of Games. Hence rose Pop, the most famous of all monitorial societies. Few Etonians but would choose membership in Pop in the present rather than in any Cabinet of the future. It was, of course, entirely athletic until Warre insisted on introducing a few intellectuals.

Mr Hollis has not only collected the School Annals but discussed such Etonian *areana* as the ancient festival *ad Montem* and the origins of the Wall Game which has survived as an annual ritual game on St

Andrew's Day between the seventy Colleges and thousand Oppidans. The foreigner who is told that in all the matches since 1840 only twice has a goal been scored is inclined to think the rules were devised by Lewis Carroll. *Montem* provided the magnificent scene of the whole School assuming fancy dress and climbing a hill often in royal presence while visitors from London were held up on the roads for contributions. William III's Dutch guards mistook the levyers for highwaymen and all but cut them down. *Montem* has passed; also Election Saturday, Surly Hall, Hoisting and Lock-up Parade. Fifty years ago died Miss Evans, the last of the Eton Dames, whose picture by Sargent hangs amid Eton's Prime Ministers in the School Hall.

Mr Hollis has penned fascinating paragraphs, especially as his own memories go back for forty years. As ours go back for three score we will disagree with his disagreement as to the perpetuation of Dames. We remember Miss Evans' House as the best during a whole generation. No Dame's House can be adduced as a failure or mockery in history as several Houses kept by super-Ushers certainly proved themselves. Be the Baroness de Rosen and the Miss Gullivers remembered with honour! The Dames should have survived.

One other point. Mr Hollis gives the famous description of the 'Black Hole' when all Remove were herded under one master in conditions which would not be tolerated in the Battersea Dogs' Home. He attributes their locality to a cockloft over the Head's chambers, but surely if Fives games were played during school across the Yard in the Chapel alcoves this must have been in connexion with the ground-floor classroom (now school office) in which we were housed as late as 1899. The Black Hole it was called, and resembled. Typical of Eton, it contained several Irish Peers and a boy from an Indian ruling house. They all felt honoured to be Etonians, even under ghastly accommodation.

To be fair, Mr Hollis gives credit to the remarkable changes which have taken place in Eton's unnecessary desperation to keep pace with the grammar schools in scholarship and the pleiad of great historic schools like herself in material advances (sanitation and ventilation especially).

But it is his eloquent history of the School in the last century which places his book at the top of all modern *Etoniana*. He summarizes Hornby and Warre, who both typified the athletic scholar and set an exemplar to all Victorian Public Schools, for they were severe Philistines. Hornby cynically wished Shelley had been at Harrow, while Warre not only denigrated Swinburne but refused leave for Browning to be recited at Speeches.

Hornby will be remembered for sacking the two most gifted and effective masters whom Eton ever knew, Billy Johnson (known to the literary world as William Cory) and Oscar Browning (known to

Cambridge as the O.B.). Mr Hollis tells their story impartially. There is little to add save that Cory's expulsion was not entirely 'mysterious'. He was a platonic agnostic character as described. His pupils, including two Premiers, were the most brilliant or intellectual that Eton ever produced. His friendship brought out in boys much that they never discovered or enjoyed until they were men. If they were his favourites, they were worthy of his favouritism. He created a new and personal relation between master and boy, not pleasing to Hornby until some surrendered letters gave him the chance to give Cory notice at the beginning of a half; but Cory preferred to disappear instantly, which he was not bound to do. He was seen at Eton one day and disappeared the next. His departure was bitterly resented by the best of the masters, and missed even more by many bright pupils who in spite of reprimand often followed him into his Devon retreat. His *Journal*, since privately printed, is his apologia, and his marble bust as *Ionicus* visibly represents Eton's final opinion.

There was even greater agitation when Oscar Browning was sacked on a petty technicality when in charge of the most successful and aesthetic House in the School. Browning disdained games and enriched his pupil room with opinions on art, interest in pictures, Dante and discussion on outside subjects. He was frank, and hopelessly tactless in his affections. When clever boys at other Houses turned to him, trouble dawned. Browning could be summarized in one sentence of his own Diary. When a schoolboy himself he wrote of another: 'I have found that he is a Lord but I loved him before!' He was a snob, but his lordlings were worthy of his excellent intentions. One of these was the future Lord Curzon, who unluckily boarded at another House, but Browning took him for drives and inspired his future. Curzon in later years introduced him to his wife as the teacher to whom he owed everything. Hornby took a different view, and insulted Browning without accusation and then dismissed him on the triviality that he was taking more boys into his House than the rules permitted. Parents were crowding their boys into this House, which promised real education. 'Browning had his friends, and the matter was ventilated in Parliament and Hornby was lucky not to find himself in the Courts,' in Mr Hollis' opinion. The value of reventilating this subject is that all Public Schools suffer from the embarrassment of the adolescent youth thrown into intimacy with the innocent young and schoolmasters who do not know how to give guidance. Mr Hollis indicates there must be a mean in schoolmasterly indifference between Dr Keate, who simply ordered his boys to be pure in heart ('If you are not pure in heart I will flog you'), and the sentimentality of Cory or exuberance of Browning. All schoolmasters can take useful hints from this chapter of Eton's history.

Warre followed Hornby as a reformer, though he lived into the

present century as a traditionalist. There again lies the dilemma for every school.

Warre had founded the Volunteers, as though patriotism was the final virtue. He started inspecting classes without notice, to the alarm of boys and terror of masters. School and staff were thoroughly well shaken. He ruled his masters with some of the deadening influence with which Parnell directed his party. Warre was 'neither a great preacher, a great teacher nor a great orator', but, whether Eton was moral or immoral in Victorian days, it was the fear or thought of this immense figure who steadily impressed the feeling of the School against immorality, not by his words (which were too thunderous to be intelligible), but simply because the School, which came to love him, knew he was against it.

There are few living who can remember Warre's occasional paroxysms delivered to Sixth and Fifth Form, but they remembered them to their dying days. 'He was content in unquestioning faith to take it for granted that black was black and white was white', words which recall the awe-striking power of Cardinal Hinsley's broadcasts to the nation during the last war. Whether they came from Yorkshire or Somerset, they seemed the same type of bluff mediaeval Englishman.

Warre overlived his time. It was not the disastrous fire of 1903 that broke him down, but a series of bad Houses which had to be terminated out of a galaxy which also contained several of the greatest and best examples of their kind.

Edward Lyttelton succeeded him with the highest possible testimonials. Not only was he already a Headmaster, but he was a cricketer who had led Cambridge to vanquish the Australians. Unfortunately he was also a saint and ascetic, and when the Great War broke out, like Nurse Cavell he found that patriotism was not enough. In emphasizing the need for self-sacrifice, he suggested that the Empire should give up Gibraltar to its geographical owners. There was an outburst of feeling amongst parents, not amongst boys, and he was compelled to resign. Under his reign Lord Braye built the beautiful stone chapel for Catholic boys in South Meadow. 'Forty years ago,' remarks Mr Hollis, 'the average Etonian did not know anything about Catholics.' They did in a controversial sense, for we remember sixty years ago Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* was given as a Holiday Task. When we returned we mobbed an unfortunate member of Lord Rosse's family because his name was Parsons and Father Parsons had played a sinister part in the book.

In those days there was one Catholic only in the School. The Fellows, who disgracefully overturned his arrangements for the Scholars on his foundation, have happily been abolished. As a result of their peculations and impious selfishness King Henry's Scholars were confined to conditions in Long Chamber which, when fully described, made

insurance companies take special consideration in insuring the survivors. Dotheboys Hall was a mild preparatory school in comparison. However, better days came with Provost Hodgson and the amiable Prince Consort, whose names are associated with the present quarters of Collegers. The Prince could not persuade the Provost against blotting out from view the exquisite mediaeval paintings in Chapel which the great Montague James has since uncovered for the delectation or devotion of the future.

The Oxford Movement was bound to penetrate Eton. Were not High Church Premiers like Gladstone and Salisbury, to say nothing of Pusey himself, amongst her sons? It was not possible at the time to allow the Puseyite Edmund Coleridge to become Headmaster, but there were masters, like Walford and Kegan-Paul, who eventually became Catholic converts, while the superb new east window has been entrusted to a Catholic artist with results which have enflamed a rather bleak interior.

The prestige of Eton is skilfully discussed by Mr Hollis, as it always must be by any critic or historian of the School. Eton has been given certain advantages from which she has profited from the beginning—the patronage and proximate presence of the Sovereign being only one of many tendencies in her favour. She might be compared to the Venerable English College in Rome as amongst provincial or diocesan Catholic seminaries.

Eton's prestige has been such that she has survived difficulties and even disasters, rebellions and troubles within which would have overwhelmed any other school. Her chroniclers, including Mr Hollis, have not hesitated to give full discussion and description. No school during the past century has been more attacked in the Press or more enviously treated by the public; yet she has not only survived but thrived. Her prestige remains an invisible asset, almost invincible, and so much so that what would wreck other schools fails to tarnish her glory or abate her pride. Even today, if her excellent Head was convicted of high treason, her Bursars thrown into prison for embezzlement, *Lady Chatterley* read aloud at Sunday Private and the pick of her masters bribed to transfer their services to Harrow, her numbers would not diminish, nor would the heartbeats which her *Floreat* awakens in every Etonian breast, past, present and future.

SOME OXFORDSHIRE WILLS

Of the Fifteenth Century

By JOHN SLEE

This article reviews the material contained in one hundred and twenty-three examples of wills made between 1393 and 1510 and proved according to the Archbishop's Prerogative in Probate, under which all wills in England were proved from the thirteenth century until the establishment of the Court of Probate in 1857. These wills are now privately published by the Oxfordshire Records Society.

FEW things, I think, could so sharply remind one of the fact that England was once a wholly and devoutly Catholic nation as a study of the 123 wills, proved in the 'Prerogative Court' of Canterbury between 1393 and 1510, and recently published privately by the Oxfordshire Records Society. They reflect an atmosphere of Christian charity and service to the community. Each brings to life the character of its maker, so that this is a collection not so much of documents but of people, representing a cross-section (excepting the very poorest) of fifteenth-century society.

Not all these wills, which qualified for inclusion by reason of some connexion with Oxfordshire, are those of rich men. This, however, adds to the interest through the wide variety of bequests, and gives a more accurate picture of contemporary society, its character and economy. There is for example, Sir Edmund Rede,¹ who left '1000 groats to 1000 priests each to celebrate *Dirige* with a mass of requiem for my soul', and John Kyng, the poor priest of Newenton (Newington), Oxfordshire, who could only afford to leave Lincoln,² his mother church, twopence, and for 'the repair of the road between the church of Newenton leading to Berwick, a cow'.

¹ Descendant of the founder of the house of the Austin Friars in Oxford. The nominal founder was Henry III, but he was prompted by Sir John Hadlow, who is regarded as the founder. In 1456 Edmund Rede claimed the privileges of founder. The claim was admitted and Edmund Rede and his son William were assigned certain chambers in the Friary.

² The bishop's seat was originally at Dorchester, but in 1070 it was transferred to Lincoln.

Before exploring some of the fascinating scenes drawn in the picturesque phrasing of the wills, I must borrow the introduction by the editor, Mr J. R. H. Weaver, which explains briefly their history through the Ecclesiastical Courts and emphasizes a number of interesting points arising out of them. Mr Weaver writes:

The following transcripts of wills . . . have been made from the series of Registers of Wills, dating from 1383, proved in the 'Prerogative Court' of Canterbury. These registers, over 2000 in number, have been preserved in the Principal Probate Registry in Somerset House since 1858, when they were transferred thither from Doctors' Commons, in Paternoster Row after the abolition of the probate jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the preceding year. They came to Doctors' Commons possibly in the time of Elizabeth I, but more probably after the Great Fire of London in 1666, from their first home, the archives of Lambeth Palace.

The wills thus preserved are not original documents but registered copies made by clerks of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at the time of Probate and as an essential part of its procedure. The original wills, often enough mere scraps of paper, were doubtless returned to the executors and very few could have survived. No original will is to be found in any of the registers before 1484; and it is safe to conclude that none of the present transcripts has been made from an *original* will in this sense. It is likely enough, indeed, that many, perhaps very many, of the originals were nuncupative wills, that is, declared orally by the testator, taken down by a witness, and so reach us at second hand. It is no mere matter of form when William Lcynthale,¹ lord of Lachford, concludes his will (1495) with the words, 'In witness that this is my wil I have subscribed my name with myne owne hand that wratt all this my will and testament.' By this date (1495) the use of English in wills was rapidly growing. The *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, printed by the Early English Text Society, cover the period 1387 to 1439. In the present small collection the earliest will in English (John Goldwell's, a London mercer) is dated 1466. By the end of the century there are 15 more wills in English here; by 1510 another 33. Soon after this date the use of Latin in the registers becomes exceptional.

These details have their bearing on the treatment of wills of this period as records. It is a question not so much of accuracy—in proper names for instance—as of interpretation. The Lambeth scribes were not drafting, but copying—from a mixed assortment of originals—and filing. In the process, names of persons and places naturally took varying forms.

Here Mr Weaver mentions Nicholas Bubworth, who was really Nicholas Bubwith, treasurer of England, referred to later in this

¹ Ancestor of Speaker Lenthall, who lived at Burford.

article; and the dateline 'Royall Lyen' to another will, which turned out to be Royall Lyeu i.e. Rewley Abbey,¹ Oxford. He quotes other mis-spellings from copied wills.

On the Archbishop's Prerogative in Probate he writes:

The testamentary jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England was in operation in varying degrees of scope and effectiveness from at least early in the thirteenth century until the establishment of the Court of Probate in 1857. In the period of their greatest independence and activity, from the time of Edward III to that of Henry VIII, these courts exercised an exclusive jurisdiction in the sphere of probate and all that it comprised wider than that possessed by any other ecclesiastical courts in Europe. We are here concerned with the prerogative exercise of that jurisdiction claimed by the Archbishop of Canterbury over all other ecclesiastical authority within the province. The claim, put briefly, was as follows: where persons dying testate or intestate possessed notable goods (*bona notabilia*) in more than one diocese of the province, the proving of their testaments, the approval or appointment of executors and administrators, and the audit of final accounts of the latter belong solely to the Archbishop by prerogative of the Church of Canterbury. The claim when first heard of in the thirteenth century was challenged by certain diocesan bishops who claimed similar powers within their dioceses but, after being energetically asserted by primates like Pecham (1279-1294) and Winchelsey (1294-1313), the prerogative claim was effectively vindicated and appears to have been in general operation from the middle of the fourteenth century. It depended, however, on individual archbishops how far they took an active personal part in the business of probate. Their practice from the first appears to have been to delegate routine business to one of their chief officials, as well as to give to others special *ad hoc* commissions to prove particular testaments. As business grew in volume and profit, more permanent delegations came to be given, resulting in the concurrent exercise of prerogative probate by the archbishops in person and their 'commissaries-general' for this purpose.

Beginning, it seems, under Archbishop Islip (1349-66) this dual control fluctuated under his immediate successors, and reached the zenith of its activity under Archbishops Chichele and Stafford (1414-1452). Thereafter the archbishops appear to have taken a diminishing share in probate practice, until under Archbishop Morton (1486-1500) we find the 'commissary-general' with 'a court of the prerogative' eventually taking over the whole of the business.

To return to the registers of Wills, it should be noted that since

¹ Cistercian Abbey under the patronage of St Mary founded by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall. His father, Richard King of the Romans, who died in 1272, the founder of Hayles Abbey, had intended to establish a college or chantry of three secular priests to pray for his soul, but his son Edmund substituted 'six Cistercian monks, having more confidence in them'. It was dissolved about 1537. (The site is now being considered for a new bus station!)

the time of Archbishop Courtenay (1381-1386) two series of prerogatives registers had been kept, both apparently at Lambeth—one, of wills proved *coram domino* and entered in the archbishops' provincial registers; the other of wills proved before the commissary general. It is from the latter series, the fortunes of which have been referred to, that the present collection of wills is drawn. Morton's register is the last of the archbishops' series to contain wills and it seems certain that from his time the phrase *Probatum coram domino apud Lamehith* becomes purely formal, signifying without implying the presence of the archbishop. From such evidence as is furnished by these Oxfordshire wills, this change of practice occurred about 1494. . . . the whole procedure of probate . . . was undeniably efficient . . . and could be unbelievably rapid in action . . . in twenty or more instances probate (of these wills) was granted within a month and occasionally within a week of the *dating* of the will—a fact from which more than one inference may be drawn.

Mr Weaver then points out that 'the seemingly redundant phraseology, 'Last Will and Testament', of the solicitor's office of today finds its explanation in the will of almost any mediaeval possessor of landed property'. He goes on:

In the period covered by the wills printed here the distinction between *testamentum* and *ultima voluntas* was fundamental. . . . The Testament was the only instrument of bequest recognized at common law, and strictly, the testament applied only to moveable goods and chattels. Further, the testament derived its validity from the naming and appointment in it of the executor. Such appointment, in the words of Henry Swinburne, the sixteenth-century ecclesiastical lawyer, 'is the Foundation, Substance, and true formal Cause, without which a Will is no proper Testament'. Moreover, if the executors in it jointly and severally refused to act, the testament was rendered invalid, the deceased person was declared intestate, and an administrator had accordingly to be appointed.

As for the Last Will: at common law in this period, landed property was not devisable by will. It was subject to the rules of feudal tenure and of inheritance, and the prohibition was made partly in the interest of the testator's overlord and partly in that of his expectant heir. By means, however, of the Use, an institution which, by the fifteenth century was coming into almost universal application, a testator could evade the prohibition of wills of land, and in an appendix (*ultima voluntas*) to his testament could dispose of his lands in almost any manner he pleased. The usual course was for the testator at some date prior to the making of his testament to convey his landed property by feoffment to a group of his friends to hold to his use (*feoffamentum ad opus*); thereby they became the legal owners (feoffees to uses) while he retained possession and continued to enjoy the profits of his estates. Subsequently, at the time of making his testament, he declared in a so-called *ultima voluntas* his

wishes as to how his feoffees were to dispose of his beneficial interest in the lands. It was a collusive proceeding but it created a form of trusteeship which was recognized by the Chancellor and came under his protection. These 'last wills' were treated by the ecclesiastical judges as codicils, and proved along with the testament and the wishes or instructions of the testator embodied in them were enforceable by the court of chancery. The testator's disposal of his land might take a variety of forms. The most usual form was for a life interest to be given to his widow and thereafter an interest in perpetuity to his heir. Another application of the Use was the endowment of chantries out of rents or proceeds of the sale of tenements. More than one of the testators of these wills had doubts about the infraction of mortmain legislation e.g. 'If it may be doo', writes William Leynthale, when making an annuity to the abbot and convent of Thame out of land which he has enfeofed to his use; and Thomas Mokking, will have his chantry endowment diverted to the seven works of mercy, the marriages of poor maidens, and repairs to roads 'if it proves illegal'.

Seventy of the wills are registered in Latin, forty-nine in English, and three partly in Latin and partly in English. The English wills are left in the original spelling—which explains the difference in some of the quotations which follow.

Probably one of the most concise and representative of the rich men's wills is that of Sir Robert Bardolph, made on 2 May 1395, and proved twenty-five days later:

Mapledurham Gurnay, 2 May, 1395. Sir Robert Bardolph, knight. To be buried in a certain aisle in the parish church of Mapledurham Gurnay, where my father and mother are buried. To the repair of the chancel of that church that divine service and devout prayers may be celebrated for my soul and for the souls of Thomas, Edward, Simon, William and Robert and all faithful deceased 40s. To the fabric of the body of the same church 40s.; to repair the bells 40s.

To the fabric of the church of Lincoln 40s.; of St Paul's London 10s.; of the church of the abbey of Abyndon 20s.; of St. Swithun's Winchester 6s. 8d.; of the church of the monastery of Sarum 10s.; of the church of the monks of Westminster 10s.; of the church of the nuns of Goryng¹ 40s. to celebrate divine service for the souls aforesaid.

To be distributed among one hundred poor innocent boys on the day of my burial to pray for the aforesaid souls, 33s. 4d., to each 4d. To each of my bond tenants [*tenenti meo in bondagio mansionem facienti*] in Mapledurham 3s. 4d. To be divided equally among the aforesaid bond tenants [*nativos*] for losses in their corn, 40 quarters of wheat, winter wheat, barley and oats to pray for the health of my

¹ Priory of Austin nuns founded in reign of Henry I by Thomas de Druval. Last prioress elected 1530. A Visitation in 1445 stated there were a prioress and seven others. No complaints.

soul and the souls aforesaid. To be distributed, by the discretion of my executors, among all the tenants of the said manor for like cause 100s.

For the repair of the said aisle where I shall be buried and to make a tomb above my body there and for devout prayers to be said £60. To honest priests, secular and religious, to be chosen by my executors in London and elsewhere, to say 5000 masses for my soul and the aforesaid souls immediately after my decease as soon as they can be celebrated £20 16s. 8d. For three honest priests to celebrate for one year immediately after my death for the aforesaid souls in a certain place assigned by my executors £15. To celebrate four trentals¹ of St Gregory for the aforesaid souls 40s.

To be distributed to the most indigent of poor paralitics to be chosen by my executors to pray for the aforesaid souls £25. To aid the deliverance of prisoners from Newgate² and anywhere else where there is great need £20.

To Thomas, vicar of Mapledurham Gurnay, to pray for the aforesaid souls and to celebrate divine service 100s. To each of my free tenants in Mapledurham for losses in his corn one quarter of wheat and one quarter of barley.³

To Margaret, my sister, 10 marks. To my two sisters and my niece, nuns of Markyate [Markyate, Herts] to each for herself 40s. To Margery, my niece, nun of Goryng 40s.; to Agnes, my other niece there 20s. To John Lynde in aid of his marriage £50.

The residue of all my goods to Amice my wife, to dispose thereof as she shall please, my debts having been paid and my servants remunerated according to the disposition of my executors.

Executors: Amice, my wife; Roger Marschal; John Lynde; John Cook of Wykham; Sir Thomas, vicar of Mapledurham Gurnay. Pendant seal attached

Proved 27 May 1395 by Roger Marschal and John Cook.

A number of priests' wills figure in this book, some poor, others better off, but none rich. There was Ralph Lovell, clerk and canon of Salisbury and vicar of Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., who made his will at Bristol on 16 October 1413. He wished to be buried in the conventual church of the Friar Preachers⁴ of Bristol. His great breviary he left to

¹ The Gregorian trental originates from the incident following the death of a monk for whom Pope Gregory ordered masses to be said for thirty days. At the end of that period the monk is said to have appeared to one of the brethren on the Aventine, from Heaven. The trental is applauded by Herrick in one of his poems as being typical of English life. It is still fairly popular.

² Newgate and the other prisons were nothing but dens of filth. Richard Whittington did much to improve their condition at this time, and his statue with his cat was put over Newgate but was destroyed in the Great Fire. Leaving money to prisons was a great work of mercy. Newgate was stated to be 'so small that it occasioned the death of many'.

³ Could be compared, in its small and personal way, with our State system of guarantee payments for agriculture to cover a bad season.

⁴ Black Friars who were established in Oxford in 1221—the eighth province of their order.

the college of the Blessed Mary of Oreall (Oxford), that covered with black velvet to Master William Pembugull, and his other two breviaries to friends.

One of the most interesting and touching in its terms is that of Thomas Sende, Rector of Teynton, near Burford, Oxon:

Borford, 10 Nov 1457. Thomas Sende, rector of the church of Teynton. To be buried in the parish church when the time shall come. My exequies to be performed in a humble manner with one black cloth [over me] one medium taper at my head, another at my feet and four torches at the most standing round, without any empty pomp or worldly display, the black cloth to be given afterwards to a poor devout man or woman to clothe themselves withall and to pray for my soul, and the torches to be given to poor persons chosen by my executors, each of whom is to have 12*d.* for his trouble, to pray for my soul, and also a hood of stout russet cloth lined with thick blanket cloth to serve him for two or three years. After my exequies are completed, the said two tapers, as long as they shall last, shall serve at the funerals of poor persons without any payment therefor, and two of the torches as long as they shall last shall serve in the church of Borford and other poor parishes at the discretion of my executors, at the elevation of the Host and before It in the visitation of the sick; the other two torches in like manner to be given to the church of Teynton. . . .

To the vicar of Borford and his parish priest, to pray every Sunday in the pulpit for my soul and the souls of my kindred and friends and all Christian souls, 20*d.* annually. To the priests and boys singing at my funeral 5*s.* yearly. To the churchwardens of Borford 20*d.* yearly for their labour. To the repair of Borford church 20*d.* yearly. To the rector or parish priest of Teynton 8*d.* yearly to pray in the pulpit on Sunday for my soul. To the repair of the church of Teynton 20*s.* yearly.

He left 20*s.* to the abbot and convent of Brewerne,¹ Oxon, who, with the vicar and churchwardens of Borford, were to enter in and sell the property if the tenants defaulted with their rents so that the annuities mentioned above could not be paid. The proceeds were then to be divided between Burford vicar and churchwardens, Brewerne abbey and the poor of Burford. He left eight marks yearly to Sir Walter Godbed, vicar of Burford, to celebrate Mass for thirteen years in the church to pray for his soul.

Several priests remembered those they had baptized. John Kyng—the same who left a cow to repair the road to his church at Newton—left 'to every one of those I have dipped in the sacred font, a sheep'. John Wilmott (21 August 1498), who was vicar of Chesilhampton, left

¹ Bruern Abbey, Cistercian; founded by Nicholas Basset in 1147. The house was suppressed and the monks expelled in October 1536. It is now the home of the Hon. Michael Astor.

a cow to the chapel of Chesilhampton, small sums for the upkeep of bridges and highways, and 4*d.* each to 'every child my wife and I raised from the holy font'. John Chapman, rector of Waterstoke, left 'a pair of sheets for the high altar'.

A well-to-do clerk, Thomas Bloxham (21 April 1473), left

two copes of white damask, one whereof to be similar in price as in other requisites to that which I have already given to the church of St Mary Bloxham and the other to be decorated with the image of St Mary and to be better and of higher price, to serve to the honour of God and the Blessed Mary and in my memory; also one cloth of white damask with the image of St Mary in the middle of the cloth to serve the high altar there, and two clothes of white 'tarteron' for each end of the said altar.

My executors to have new made a cover, silver gilt, to serve the silver cup of the Prior and Convent of St Frideswide¹ aforesaid called 'Frideswidecupp' with the image of that virgin thereon, as great an image as can be placed upon that cover.

Thomas Bloxham wished to be buried in St Frideswide's church, and left 6*s.* 8*d.* for his obsequies—rather a modest sum compared with the £60 and £40 of the Bardolphs.

Another priest, John Curteys, not so well off, asked to be buried in the Monastery of the Charterhouse, and, 'before all, my debts to be faithfully paid'. Then 'my funeral to be performed honestly and four tapers with candelabra and seven torches to be carried by seven poor men in black gowns'. He left his servant £30 and most of the rest to the poor of various parishes. Joan Devyn, a widow of Henley (20 January 1483), left small sums for the maintenance of the lights of St Katherine, St Clement, St Nicholas, and Holy Trinity in Henley church, and desired 'six poor people holding six tapers about my tomb on my trental day to be clothed according to the discretion of my executors'. She also left 'every year for ever twelve quarters of coal called "char-cole" to the most needy poor dwelling within the vill of Henley, that is six quarters on Christmas Eve and six on the vigil of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin'.

A quaint bequest was that of John Clutton (3 October 1501) of Chipping Norton. He left:

To my Lord Bishop of Landath [Llandaff] my grete colt. To my lord Bisshop and to his Covent Monastery of Evensham [Eve-

¹ Augustinian Priory. Was one of the parish churches of Oxford in 1002 when it was burnt down during the massacres of the Danes. King Ethelred II in recompense rebuilt it. Domesday states there were secular canons. Apparently regular canons were not instituted until 1122. It was suppressed in 1524 in accordance with Wolsey's scheme for the erection on its site of a great college.

sham] a hoole bore, halfe the bore to my lord and the other to the covent. To the said Covent 6s. 8d. to be sett as it likith theim, uppon this condicion, that I may be a brother of the said place.

Another resident near Chipping Norton, one of the Asshefelds, lords of the manor of Heythrop, where Heythrop College¹ now stands, left to Heythrop church 20s., a 'written mass booke and a written portuous'.²

The Banbury merchant, William Saunders (17 October 1492), like a number of other testators, commended his daughters to the guidance of their mother and made the conventional bequests to the parish church of Banbury and its lights. But a year or more later he had to add a codicil in the form of a memorandum (22 November 1493), ratifying his previous dispositions but adding that 'in the same presence [of witnesses] he bequeithed to the infant in his wyfe's wombe, yf it be a son all his taylled landes and 100 marke, and yf it be a doughter, 100 marke'. He was not the only testator who left part of his estate to his unborn child.

It is not surprising that many of the testators were 'wolman'—i.e. sheep-farmers or dealers in wool, for which the Oxfordshire Downs and the Oxfordshire Cotswolds were famous. Most of these had very little 'coined money' to give away, but they gave sheep, horses, bridles, todde³ of wool and one even left his dung-cart. Henry Richard, *alias* Fermer (3 March 1465), left to each of the principal lights in the church of Langford a ewe and to the chapel of St Mary adjoining the said church one cow. Many such men left a hundred sheep here and another hundred there or, if they were husbandmen like John Brigge of Bampton, they would leave quarters of wheat or measures of barley, all for specified purposes in the church. Some left a measure of barley to their godchildren, others left a ewe or a lamb.

The four orders of Friars were frequently remembered by bequests of money and goods, and of course many bequests were made for the maintenance of the 'month's mind'. One notable exception was John Goldwell,⁴ a London mercer (3 October 1466), who ordered his executors to have the '*Dirige* and masse knyll with all other observances doon the day of my burying and the next day folying without any moenthes mynde'.

It is interesting to note how greatly such books as existed were

¹ The writer wishes to make acknowledgements to the Rector and Librarian of Heythrop College for their kind hospitality and ready help.

² A breviary that was carried about.

³ A todde is 28 lb. The best wool was called middle wool and one bequest stipulates 'a todde of myddul wool'.

⁴ Probably an ancestor of Dr Thomas Goldwell, who was nominated as Bishop of St Asaph in 1557 by Queen Mary. Before he could be instituted, however, Elizabeth I had ascended the throne and Goldwell retired to the Continent.

treasured. Only comparatively few of these testators apparently possessed any. Thomas Bloxham, whom I have mentioned before, ordered

The College of Merton to have all my other books chained in the library of the same college whose subjects are not included in the same library; and all others to be sold by my executors except one fine Bible which I give to All Souls College. Thomas Mokking executed a codicil to his will bequeathing his organ, his book of Decretals to St. Mary's Oxford, his 'sixt hbook of Decretals and Goffrey and 'James de Ra' to friends. Sir Edmund Rede left 'a booke of the chronicles of England, a book called *Officium Militaire*, with arms depicted on it, a book of 'Gower'¹ with the treatise of the Three Kings of Coleyn bound in white leather, a book called *Albertanus Causiticus* with other tracts, my two psalters, one with two silver gilt clasps 'pounced' with unicorns' heads, a small book of matins with other prayers with silver clasps, my very small psalter with silver gilt clasps, a book of the life of Alexander, with all my books of English law, except the book of assises later left to Richard Halle; cartularies, terriers,² books of forests, books of swanimotes,³ one little book of old statutes of England, a small register with silver clasps . . . together with all my indentures.

Pilgrimages are mentioned infrequently but one, William Symond, the date of whose will is not known, made it as he was 'about to undertake a journey to the Roman court. To be buried where God disposes'. He goes on to dispose of all his household goods of any value, to pay his debts and to remit the debts of some who owed money to him.

Students of Catholic history will recognize among these wills names of importance, headed by the Stonors, and followed by the families of recusants who lent such strength to Oxfordshire Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the Blounts, the Lenthalls and the Chamberlains.

Dame Jane Stonor the elder (13 April 1493) after bequests to a number of churches wrote:

As sone it is perseyved that I shall depart to the mercy of God and so lying abyding in his mercy and grace, being alyve, that as hastily as it may be done for me there be distributed to preestis to

¹ The mediaeval poet.

² Roll of lands held by persons in which the site, boundaries, and acreage are given.

³ Swanimote, swainmote or sweinmote: a court held before the verderers of the forest as judges, the swains, or freeholders within the forest composing the jury.

pray for me £15 for thirty Trentalles of Seynt Gregory. To thirty-one preestys at my burying, to every preest 12d. seying the trentall of Seint Gregory aforesaid and the last masse of the requiem. To every preest commying to the monethis mynde seying over nyght *Diriges* and masse on the morrowe 12d. To every poure man of the pourest men of Hendeley [Henley] holding torchis at my monethis mynde 6d. and at my burying 6d. and six of my pourest tenauntes after the discrecion of myn executors [to] have 8d. with gownes and hoodys. To be distributed at my burying and at my montheis mynde 5 marcs in almes to pouer men and women as feire as it will goo.

It was William Chamberlayn (3 October 1470), esquire, who left 'To Richard Chamberlayn my brother, thirty chains [*catenas*] of pure gold called "Iez Tourez". Another 'chaine of gold' was left by Thomas Pomerey (26 August 1508), who wished to be buried 'in the church of Our Lady in Tame [Thame] bifore thymage of Our Lady of Jeseon', to whom he left 'my chayne of tenscore lynkes of gold'.

It will be noted that few of these wills show any concern for the recording of the testator's social status in any place or on his or her tomb; indeed, most of them are content to depend on their executors for any inscription. One striking exception to this is Sir Edmund Mounteforde (12 March 1493):

To be buried in Our Lady Chapell in the parish church of Henley upon Thamyse in the counte of Oxford at the wyndow syde before the image of Our Lady in the same chapell. And there a metely tombe to be made acordyng to my degree as it shalbe thought best by the discrecion of myn executours except it be done and made in my lyfe, and my armes sett therupon with a scripture — 'Here lyeth Syr Edmund Mounteforde, Knyght, somtyme Councelour and Kerver¹ with the most blessed Kyng Henry the VIth and after Chambyrlayne unto the high and myghty Prynce Jasper, Duke of Bedford, brother to the seid Prince the seid Kyng. And wheresoever it fortune me to dye, ferre or nye, I will that my body conveniently be brought to the seid place there to be buried.

Among the Masses to be said for his soul was one 'at Our Lady of Pewe at such tyme as the pardone of *Scala Celi* is there'.

This book, which is adequately and accurately indexed, with references for each will in the Principal Probate Registry (Literary Department), Somerset House, London, can be obtained from the Secretary to the Oxfordshire Records Society, Dr W. O. Hassall, M.A., F.S.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford, for 25s.; to those joining the society, which publishes a volume a year, it is free of charge. The Society's subscription is one guinea per annum.

¹ A carver at table.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF ST AGNES' EVE

Keats' Catholic Inspiration

By KATHARINE GARVIN

IT IS perhaps injudicious to quote Amy Lowell; but the New England poet is at her critical best in her sensuous appreciation of 'The Eve of St Agnes'; at the same time she provides a useful starting-point for my argument. She finds 'The Eve' 'a poem for youth'. 'Youth alone,' she continues, is capable of appraising it. As we grow older, we may come to prefer others of Keats' poems to it, but to the age to which it appeals it is completely satisfying . . . 'Youth¹ is more than age,' she pursues, 'energy worth more than meditation. The *Eve of St Agnes* is a paeon [sic] of youth, a great masterpiece and epitome of one of the principal ages of man.'² She finds a streak of morbidity in Keats' use of the storm as well as in the fates of Angela and of the Beadsman. 'It is the old story of the cruelty of nature. For two who are happy, life demands the insatiable toll of death.'³

I must plead guilty to having, for a time, shared this under-estimation of 'The Eve' while thinking that I had reached the maximum of appreciation. I must have read this poem first when I was younger than Juliet. How many times I have read and re-read it since I cannot tell; at school, at the University, giving my first course of Eng. Lit., studying it for maturer teaching, poring over it; discovering fresh particular beauties every time.

Yet I did not taste its pure perfection until one January, about two years ago, when already I belonged with Angela and the Beadsman rather than with the young lovers. It was on St Agnes' Eve itself that it happened, for I started to read the poem once again in an effort to find a way of presenting it to a class of girls a little older than Juliet, with scarcely any background of reading but with their minds full of their probable destiny of marriage. In all the years during which I had pondered it I had felt something lacking; only now did it swing into a

¹ *John Keats* (Jonathan Cape), Vol. II, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*

³ p. 171.

profound and wonderful wholeness. Its beauty, which I had felt to be rich but merely descriptive, became full of consummate meaning.

*Et l'on voit de la flamme aux yeux des jeunes gens,
Mais dans l'œil du vieillard on voit de la lumière.*

Porphyro is on fire, a young man aflame; but the whole poem is more than this one night; it is a poem of light. 'So shines a good deed in a naughty world,' muses Portia of the candle shining from her household into the night, into the dark world where men betray charity for money. So does the magic radiance of St Agnes, shining from Madeline's room, shatter and dissolve the dark background of solid hatred embodied in the castle.

In his masterly study, *Keats' Craftsmanship: A Study in Poetic Development*, M. R. Ridley mentions the 'far harder and greater Hyperion'; of 'The Eve', he writes: 'But in its kind, even though that kind be slight, it is not far short of perfection.'¹ Perfection is there, but the poem is no more slight than Spenser's 'Fowre Hymnes': it is as weighty a distillation as green Chartreuse, bubbling to a perfection unknown to the sprawling, unfinished, splendidly intentioned and uttered *Hyperion*, nonsensical both in its astronomy and its theology.

While, from Leigh Hunt onwards, the poem has usually brought out the best in critics, it seems that they have missed the full significance, for the very simple reason that no one has looked for the presence of St Agnes. Critics have neglected her as a picturesque nonentity of folklore, a convenient lay figure for the draping of marriage superstitions. Only Buxton Forman, as far as I know, has credited her with a property of sanctity. He, commenting on Leigh Hunt's praise of Stanza XXV, in which the moon transmits the hues of the stained glass, writes:

The colouring of the stanza has been frequently criticized on the ground that the moon's light is not really strong enough to transfer to an object the colours of a painted window. The good unscientific Hunt was wiser in his generation than to note this as a flaw: perhaps he even felt the higher truth that there was a rich propriety in the miracle. Without venturing to affirm that Keats knew it was a miracle, I am bold to say that, whether he knew it or not, he could not have found a more splendid expedient whereby to mark the propitiousness of meek St Agnes.

This is imagining St Agnes as actively presiding. The word 'miracle', too, is Porphyro's as well as Buxton Forman's. He is, he says, a starving pilgrim 'saved by miracle' (Stanza XXXVIII). The presence of a saint is needed to convert superstition into miracle, to bring consummation

¹ Oxford, 1933, p. 97.

out of idle wishes. Yet nearly all have stopped at the superstitions of St Agnes' Eve, and none has looked for a reason why St Agnes should have attracted these superstitions. Why is she a patroness of betrothal and marriage of love? Brand's *Popular Superstitions* and Mother Bunch are not likely to tell us.

St Agnes was one of the earliest saints who claimed a mystical marriage as a reason for avoiding a human one. Hence her martyrdom; hence the Lamb;¹ and here the clue. She established the precedent for a girl to choose her own destiny, and to follow the lead of her heart in seeking a spouse.

Now comparatively neglected, as she was in 1819, Agnes was, from the fourth century, long held in the highest honour as a virgin martyr, a special patroness of purity, together with the stainless Mother of God and with St Thecla. This is the secret of 'The Eve of St Agnes'; the divine marriage models the uniting of Madeline and Porphyro, as it should all Christian marriages.

It was ironical that the egregious Woodhouse should have complained of the specifically conjugal nature of the lovers' meeting in the two offending and, apparently, finally omitted stanzas; for the poem is a celebration of marriage, presided over by the Mystical Marriage. This is why it is more than a love story. How well earth transmutes to heaven in the striking impact of the opening! Earth was cold and bitter as were the wild creatures, and 'silent was the flock in woolly fold', the flock of St Agnes. From the sheep we shift to the praying fingers of the Beadsman and to nearly two stanzas setting the frame of the poem in religion, in the patient coldness of prayer, in its hushed and pregnant silence. There is awe in these stanzas; and, although I cannot make more than forty-two stanzas, or more than nine lines to a stanza, the tale moves like a rosary, like the rosary that opens it, with the eight short lines for the decade and the Alexandrine for the Gloria and Paternoster, and the inner vision of meditation above and beyond the incidents of the story.

Little is known of St Agnes; she was a little girl, said to have been thirteen years old when she suffered martyrdom for her fidelity to her heavenly Bridegroom. There is just enough to set a poet's mind meditating on love. In the Breviary, the lovely Antiphon strikes the keynote of St Agnes:

Beata Agnes in medio flammarum expansis manibus orabat: Te deprecor omnipotens, adorande, colende, pater metuende, quia per sanctum filium tuum evasi minas sacrilegi tyranni, et carnis spurcicias immaculato calle transivi: et ecce venio ad te quem amavi, quem quaesivi, quem semper optavi.

Blessed Agnes in the midst of the flames prayed with outspread hands: I pray to Thee omnipotent father, worthy to be adored,

¹ *Apocalypsis*, xiv, 1-6.

worshipped, feared, because through thy holy son I have escaped the threats of the sacrilegious tyrant, and have passed from the filth of the flesh on to the immaculate path: and lo, I come to Thee whom I have loved, whom I have sought, whom I have always desired.)

The lesson in her office is taken from St Ambrose, *De Virginibus*, and includes the passage, '*natalis est sanctae Agnetis, mirentur viri, non desperent parvuli, stupeant nuptiae, imitentur innuptae.*' (It is the birthday of St Agnes, let men wonder, let little ones not despair, let the wedded women be astounded, let the unwedded imitate.) There is something for everyone.

Pope Damasus' short poem inscribed in the Church of *Sant' Agnesi fuori le mura* has the modest detail of her veiling her chaste body from the gaping crowds with her flowing hair:

*Urere cum flammis voluisset nobile corpus,
Viribus immensum parvis superasse timorem,
Nudaque perfusus crines, et membra dedisse,
Ne Domini templum peritura videret.*

(When her noble body was disposed to burn in the flames, she is said to have overcome her vast fear with her small strength, and, naked, to have covered her limbs with her spread hair, lest, as she is about to die (anyone?) should see the temple of the Lord.)

Porphyro is adoring, but an unbidden watcher; and Madeline is thoughtful rather than fearful, but modest. Is there not a hint in these lines for Madeline's undressing, 'half-hidden like a mermaid in seaweed', although in ignorance that she is being watched? In Pope Damasus' few lines, too, we are told that Agnes suddenly left her nurse's lap, '*cum lugubres cantus tuba concrepuisset*' (when the trumpet creaked its doleful sound). Are we far from Keats' 'snarling trumpets', so unnecessary to the story?

The third source for the story of St Agnes is the fourteenth hymn in Prudentius' *Peri Stephanon*. The three accounts differ in the details of her trial and martyrdom, but they agree about her extreme youth. Prudentius says: '*Aiunt jugali vix habilem toro.*'

Much later, her story is retold in Butler's *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints*, 1756 (p. 116), which one would guess to be the source most readily accessible to Keats. She

was only thirteen years of age at the time of her glorious death. Her riches and beauty excited the young noblemen of the first families in Rome to vie with each other in their addresses who should gain her in marriage. Agnes answered them all that she had consecrated her virginity to a heavenly spouse, who could not be beheld by mortal eyes.

She averred that 'she could have no other spouse than Jesus Christ'. Butler gives us other significant details that seem echoed in Keats' poem; that her purity gave rise to hatred on the part of her rejected suitors, that at her tomb outside Rome there was a 'rich silver shrine', and that her day used to be a great holyday for the women of England: 'many miracles were wrought and graces received through her intercession'.

Throughout the history of Western literature, poets and other writers have taken the ideal of human love between man and woman as the apotheosis of human experience, the passionate perfection nearest to divinity, even sometimes replacing it. Keats cannot, either, have avoided seeing in Dante, whom he was reading on and off throughout this time, that Beatrice, if not heaven herself, was the guide to heaven. There is a very good reason for this glorification of human love, whether consciously or unconsciously used. This love is indeed the symbol and token of the union between God and mankind, between Christ and the Soul, and between Christ and His Bride, the Church; and for many of those who have not experienced union with God, this union is the nearest to it, in its perfection calling for similar virtue and discipline. What Keats may or could have read is a matter for research, but what he has done in 'The Eve', is, as it were, to secularize Agnes' love in Madeline. Madeline is a humanized Agnes, and the poem a portrayal of perfection and promise in an earthly union modelled upon the heavenly bridal of Agnes. The heroine's name (emphasized in the rejected British Museum Stanza VI by the allusion to 'weeping Magdalen' where also the food offered is to be offered 'as sacrifice') is even the name of her to whom first of all Christ promised perfect union, after His resurrection.

Let us go through the poem yet again. It begins (after four lines describing the cold without and within) with the Beadsman saying his prayers, and it ends with the Beadsman, whether we read:

The Beadsman, after thousand aves told,
For aye unsought for slept among his ashes cold,

or the British Museum version:

The beadsman stiffen'd, twixt a sigh and laugh
Ta'en sudden from his beads by one weak little cough.

The Beadsman, then, prays ceaselessly throughout the poem.

All is cold, colourless, white in 'frozen, woolly fold'; and the hint that 'frosted breath' seems taking flight for heaven in adoration is redeemed in the final lines. The only light is the old man's lamp; there is darkness, and the black rails of purgatory, or frustration and imprison-

ment. Gold comes obliquely for a moment with the music, but the holy man goes to pass his last night on earth among the ashes.

The stir of the party follows, with the often-noticed recurrence of silver, 'silver snarling trumpets', 'argent revelry', and the suggestion that the revellers are unreal, haunting shadows. They are not substance.

The poem now concentrates on a real person, Madeline, the thoughtful heroine. She seems abstracted among the bustling guests but she, like the Beadsman, is substantial. There is still no colour, only the 'lilly-white' of the hypothetical maidens. Into this stillness comes Porphyro with the contrasting quality, 'with heart on fire'. His fire—the only hint of warmth except music's golden tongue—is enhanced by the moonlight chill. He appears at once as a reverent lover, begging all saints for a sight of his lady, with a respectful and incredulous aspiration of contemplating, worshipping, speaking, kneeling, kissing.

Madeline has been introduced on the heels of the devout Beadsman, and with fitting parallelism Porphyro is followed by the not much less devoted 'beldame, weak in body and in soul', her very weakness making her the apter instrument for supernatural purposes. She, too, has a white symbol—her ivory-headed wand.

Horried to see the young lover in the haunt of his bloodthirsty enemies, she begs him to 'flit like a ghost away'. It is worth mentioning that here is a third order of existence. There are the four true people, all of whom rise above material conditions. There is the false existence of the drunken, hating and cruel revellers; and there is the order of the preternatural, ghosts, fairies, phantoms, witches, and it is used, whenever mentioned, as a foil of fantasy to the real action. It has been exhaustively treated in *Keats and the Daemon King*,¹ in which the author shows how Keats drew hints from the fairy-supernatural to materialize the invisible lover. For St Agnes, the lover is truly supernatural, and for Madeline, he is invisible, and seems to appear miraculously.

The death-like atmosphere of the castle is emphasized in the next incident, when the old lady takes Porphyro into a chill, restricted and silent room.

For the first time now we hear the old lady's name. It is Angela, pleasantly chiming with Agnes. Leigh Hunt records a posthumous vision of the martyred Agnes, 'surrounded by angels, and attended by a white lamb, which afterwards became sacred to her'. The lamb, of course, is from the *Apocalypse* xiv, 1-6; and Agnes is attendant upon Him; and I hope that when Keats speaks of 'wing'd St Agnes' saintly care' (Stanza V), he imagines her as surrounded by the wings of angels. There is, then, the significance in the name 'Angela'. The old lady is representing Agnes' messenger; she is the intermediary between the saint and the lovers.

¹ W. W. Beyer, O.U.P. 1947.

Porphyro again reveals the reverence of his quest when he adjoins Angela by the sacred loom on which the nuns weave the wool for the pallium; and Angela, mixing magic and religion, remembers suddenly, as she invokes God's help, that Madeline is planning to play with magic. She prays that good angels may deceive her, and I take this to mean a prayer that angels may bring comfort and substance out of what Porphyro, in the next verse, thinks of as 'enchantments cold'.

Porphyro has been gazing at the old lady as if he sought in her the solution to a problem. The solution comes to him with a rush, and with it the poem's colour starts into life:

Sudden a thought came like a full-blown rose,
Flushing his brow, and in his pained heart
Made purple riot. (Stanza XVI.)

Here, with this wakening to life in colour, I think we have the clue to the reason for his name. 'Where the name came from I do not know,' declares Ridley (p. 123), and Gittings finds it as a name, but with no special function as a name, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Keats was learning, and slowly reading, Italian. *Porfiro* is the spelling used in early Italian writers for later *porfiro*. It appears to come directly from Greek, where *porphyro*¹ is the form used in word combinations. It is, of course, *purple*, but not our purple. It is the *purpureus* of Latin writers, the *pourpre* of French, the colour used by Horace for *flos rosae*, and by others for the warm red of complexion, the colour of healthy life. Porphyro is the red vigour of love and life, come to waken the white maiden to fulfilment. The beautiful reinforcement of this idea, at the crucial moment, is in Stanza XXXVI, and it is the same idea as forms the theme of the ballet *Le spectre de la rose*, founded on a poem by Gautier which I have tried in vain to identify. A later meaning of *Porfiro* is the hard rock named from its purple colour, and Madeline had need of rock, too, but the colour is the more significant.

Naturally, Angela is shocked, at first, at Porphyro's plan of hiding in Madeline's room, but Porphyro, swearing by all saints (originally by St Paul, whose appropriateness seems to reside only in the Feast of his Conversion a little later in January), affirms the purity of his intentions, and his aim, which is to 'win perhaps that night a peerless bride'. Angela, after reminding him that she has prayed for him regularly, is persuaded to practical help, and tells him to kneel in prayer all the time she is busy with the preparations for the midnight encounter. It must have been a considerable and a serious period of prayer; and Angela herself prays that she may never rise from the grave to heaven if Porphyro does not succeed in wedding the lady.

¹ My son, J. L. Gordon, points out that the etymology of *porphyros* itself is 'fire-bearing' or 'fire-bearer'.

When Porphyro is safely bestowed in the cupboard with the sweetmeats, and Madeline is spiritually warned as if she were an angel on an errand (what a lovely touch of sympathy this is!) the light dies to a minimum. As if from dead embers, the room and the poem kindle to the full, glowing climax of colour, and the moon (impossibly, we are told by commentators) shines through the stained glass window to transform the maiden to an angelic or saintly glow of purity; for perfect chastity is not cold; it burns. Flies do not settle on boiling water, as the Curé d'Ars remarked. The prevailing colour is gules, rose, the blush.

It is when Madeline is dreaming with her hair down, her clothes slid to her knees, watched by Porphyro's devotion but 'half-hidden', that she reminds us of Agnes half-veiled with her hair, striving to conceal her beauty, 'God's temple', from onlookers. This is, too, the moment in the poem when musing Madeline identifies herself with Agnes, imagining the young virgin saint in her own bed.

Once in bed, she is the shut rosebud, the carefully guarded Mass-book, and the colour becomes more vivid, but also lucent, ethereal, and the hushed suspense is accompanied by the echoes of midnight music. The fruits and the jewel-like richness remind us of the fruit of Aladdin's cave, and it is not surprising to find Keats referring to Aladdin in the 18 February instalment of the well-nigh interminable letter begun on 14 February, where he first mentions the composing of *St Agnes' Eve*.

Gold now culminates the silver; Porphyro's actual hand glows; the dishes are gold; and the golden fringe that lies on the carpet (not attached to the carpet) is, I think, the illusion cast by the moonlight playing on and through the lustrous metal salvers. The blending is an immaterial one of gold and silver (perhaps sun and moon, fire and purity, red and white, man and woman). No warmth is absent now. Striving to wake her gently, Porphyro calls Madeline his seraph, his heaven, himself her hermit. Could fusion of earthly with heavenly love be more explicit?

She wakes, and, momentarily, all is pale again; but a new tone is added here to the symphony of colour and light. Her blue eyes shone. In all the regalia of colour hitherto, there has been no blue. In Stanza XXX Madeline's sleep is azure-lidded, her sheets are lavendered, but there is no true blue until she opens her eyes; then at once, Porphyro flashes into the gold of a star reposing into the sapphire of heaven. Blue is evidently for Madeline, and the few hints given represent nature's true, not craftsmen's grey slateish blue. Porphyro unites with Madeline's dream as a rose marries its scent (or blends its odour) with a violet.

The inward unity is accentuated by the contrast of the sudden sharp storm outside. Agnes' blessed moment has passed, but from it the lovers are to build eternal union. Learning that she is in no dream, Madeline surrenders to her husband in total abnegation; her exquisite

renunciation is followed by his virile declaration of marriage. She is his bride, he her vassal, her protection, and the shield of her beauty. Surely it is no accident that *vermeil*, the term defining the shield, means both 'vermilion', and also 'silver-gilt' or 'gilded bronze'. Gold is not itself without vermilion, and cloth of gold has a vermilion woof, and gold-leaf is applied over vermilion. Next, Porphyro calls Madeline his 'silver shrine'. Surely, John Keats thinks of the silver shrine of St Agnes, the destination of pilgrims? Porphyro calls the acceptance of his love a miracle. He ends by saying that he is not an infidel. Madeline can trust him.

This is the essential marriage, the sacrament administered by the spouses to each other, irregular certainly because there are no witnesses (unless we take Angela and the Beadsman to be symbolic of witnesses); but confirmed by the vows, the mutual consent, even by the worldly goods expressed in 'a home for thee'. The lovers escape into the storm to face the difficulties of life, leaving behind the fleshly, sensual, deathbound life of the castle in which it is now they who are ghosts. Madeline had dreamed true of love; the Baron and his unpleasant guests dreamed of witches, demons and grave-worms.

Angela, whose last act was charity, and whose life was prayer, is delivered unexpectedly from her woes. So is the Beadsman, gone in his countless prayers. Both of these aged people are taken from ashes and from palsy to the face of God. Love is death, is dying to self.

I hope no one will tell me that Keats was not a Catholic. Porphyro, Madeline, Angela and the Beadsman were, and we know that a poet's business is truth. Keats has gone out of his way to introduce, not vaguely Christian, but positively Catholic allusions, and accurately. The rosary, the censor, vespers, the missal—these are all far-fetched unless they have a relevant meaning.

Keats, we are told, visited Mrs Isabella Jones on St Agnes' Eve, and Mrs Jones suggested the poem's theme; but it is St Agnes who is the model for Madeline. Her identity informs the poem.

Could Keats have known the sources? In a letter of September 1819 he writes: 'And in Latin there is a fund of curious literature of the middle ages.' Could he have seen a breviary? There were Catholics about, and he lived a stone's throw from the refugee Church of St Mary in Holly Place, Hampstead. The Mozarabic Missal suggested so alluringly by Professor F. N. Scott as a likely source for the 'missal where swart paynims pray' is listed in the British Museum catalogue beside a Mozarabic Breviary. If Keats knew of one, he is likely to have known of the other. Yet the breviary seems less coincident with the details of the poem than Butler's *Lives* (always in the original version of 1756) and the four lines from Pope Damasus. Butler must have been easy enough to find; and might a guide-book to Rome have quoted the Damasus inscription?

AN EARLIER FOXGLOVE SAGA

The First English Catholic Novel?

By DAVID LODGE

THE sub-title of this article is interrogative because it would be rash to make a positive assertion about an era of minor literature on which the dust of time has scarcely been disturbed. As far as my own researches have carried me, *Poverty*, and the *Baronet's Family*, by Henry Digby Beste, was probably the first Catholic novel to be written in England. But two reservations must be made to this claim. Firstly, I exclude Mrs Inchbald's *A Simple Story* (1791).¹ Secondly, *Poverty* was certainly not the first Catholic novel to be published in England. Eleanor C. Agnew's *Geraldine: a Tale of Conscience* and the anonymous *The Converts: a Tale of the Nineteenth Century: or Romanism and Protestantism brought to bear in their true light against one another* were both published in 1837. *Poverty* was published in 1845 by the author's son, John Richard Digby Beste. Henry had died on 28 May 1836, and *Poverty*, his son tells us, was written in 'the last few years' of his father's life. It seems probable, therefore, that *Poverty* was at least begun before *Geraldine* or *The Converts*, which were both evidently inspired by their respective authoresses' recent conversions to Catholicism.

John Richard Digby Beste chose the moment to release *Poverty* with shrewdness. In 1845 the religious controversy aroused by the Oxford Movement reached its climax with the reception of Newman into the Catholic Church. A three-cornered battle was being conducted between Catholics, Tractarians and 'Protestants', in which one of the most popular media of controversy was the novel. A writer in THE DUBLIN REVIEW (XXI, 1846, p. 261) estimated that 'at least one-third of the novels published since January 1845 have been either directly religious, or at all events possessed more of religious character than would have been sufficient, ten years ago, to damn any novel, no

¹ Mrs Inchbald was a Catholic, and Catholicism is an important element in the first part of her novel. But *A Simple Story* is not a Catholic novel in the sense in which we understand that term today. Catholicism is introduced merely to add piquancy to the guardian-ward love story, which is otherwise conducted according to the conventions of eighteenth-century sentimental fiction. This, of course, is no reflexion on Mrs Inchbald as a novelist. *A Simple Story* is a better novel than most Catholic novels of the nineteenth century.

matter how spirited and how successful in every other particular'. John Richard Digby Beste accented the topical interest of his father's novel by publishing it with the following title-page: '*Poverty, and the Baronet's Family*; a Catholic Novel. By the late Henry Digby Beste, Esq., M.A., Fellow of St Mary Magdalen's College, Oxford; Originator of the Religious Opinions of Modern Oxford.' But this was not an excessive claim. Henry Digby Beste was a convert to the Catholic Church in 1798, when that Church was still a tiny, despised, and virtually subterranean minority in England; but the motives for his conversion strikingly anticipated the reasons which, four decades later, led Newman and his associates into the Church. It was of Digby Beste that Cardinal Wiseman wrote, in his description of Pope Leo XII's Jubilee (1825), in *Recollections Of The Four Last Popes*:

Among the earliest to pass, with every sign of devotion, through the holy gate, I remember seeing, with emotion, the first clergyman who in our times had abandoned dignity and ease, as the price of his conversion. He was surrounded or followed, by his family in this pilgrim's act, as he had been followed by them in his 'pilgrimage of grace'. Such a person was rare in those days, and indeed we little thought how our eyes might become accustomed, one day, to the sight of many like him.

The chief sources of biographical data about Henry Digby Beste are the 'Biographical Memoir of the Author' which John Richard Digby Beste prefixed to *Poverty*, and Henry's own 'Some Account of the Conversion of the Author to the Catholic Faith in 1798' which introduces *Four Years In France, or Narrative of an English Family's Residence there, during that Period* (1826). On the whole the latter account is the livelier, and I quote from it in what follows.

Henry's name was originally Best. He appears to have inserted the 'Digby' and appended the 'e' after his conversion. The Digbys were his maternal ancestors, who had been Catholics until the time of his grandfather. His mother married an Anglican Divine, prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral; 'nevertheless some rags of Popery' hung about her. The Digbys had, of course, been notable recusants, and Henry Digby Beste describes a vivid scene of his childhood, when his mother made him read the stirring account of Sir Everard Digby's part in the Gunpowder Plot, while other children were burning the effigy of Guy Fawkes. Young Henry encountered several Catholics among his relatives, and, he observed later in life, 'I believe I was the only Protestant lad in England, of my age, at that time, who had made an abstinence dinner, and shaken hands with a Jesuit.' The discovery of an annotated Douai-Rheims New Testament began the process of his conversion. A Protestant clergyman admonished him solemnly:

'I had rather give £500 than that such a thing should come to pass.' I well knew the value he set on £500, and conceived a corresponding idea of his repugnance.

Henry did not pursue the matter, but went up to Oxford to prepare for the Anglican ministry. There he came under the influence of a friend, Richard Paget, who, before his early death, seems to have formulated many ideas later put forward by the Tractarians, such as the need for ecclesiastical discipline, and for a reasonable and honest assessment of truth and error in the Church of Rome. After Paget's death, Henry took deacon's orders, and preached a remarkable sermon in 1793 on 'Priestly Absolution'. The sermon was printed, and provoked a considerable amount of discussion, both for and against. But this was nothing compared to the violent controversy which erupted when the Tractarians put forward the same point of view much later. (Tracts 39 and 74 deal with this subject.) It is not surprising that Henry was gradually persuaded of the truth of Catholicism. His last doubts were dispelled by an emigré, the Abbé Beaumont, and he was received into the Church by Dr Douglass, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, in 1798. After his conversion, he said, 'many Protestants, after talking with me on religion, have found me, as they said, so reasonable, that they would not believe I was really and truly a papist'. The tolerant, urbane style of his writings confirms the likelihood of such an impression.

Henry's conversion cut short a promising career in the Church of England, and henceforth he directed his energies to literature, producing entertaining and informative travel books such as *Four Years In France*, and *Italy As It Is* (1828), and numerous contributions to periodicals, many of which were collected in his *Personal And Literary Memorials* (1829). By his writings, Digby Beste did much to improve the literary and intellectual status of Catholicism in England; but he died at the dawn of the Catholic Revival, and the significance of his work was never fully appreciated.

To most Catholics today Henry Digby Beste's life will be of greater interest than his novel. *Poverty* belongs very definitely to the category of minor fiction. But it is of considerable interest in relation to the development of religious fiction in general, and of Catholic fiction in particular, in the nineteenth century. Before the late 'thirties religious fiction had consisted almost exclusively of the fictionalized tracts of Evangelical writers such as Hannah More, and of crude libels of the *Maria Monk* variety. The form of *Poverty*—religious debate and discussion in a fictional framework—strikingly anticipated the kind of religious *roman à thèse* which was to emerge from the Oxford Movement controversies shortly after Beste's death. Newman's *Loss And Gain* (1848) is the best example of this *genre*, but few religious novelists

of this period even approached Newman's achievement. Digby Beste's novel may seem unremarkable to the modern reader, but it is in fact superior to the bulk of the religious controversial novels produced at this time.

Poverty is also distinguished from the controversial novels which followed it by having a social as well as a religious message. Digby Beste took as his epigraph a remark of Paley's: 'Pride, or prudery, or love of ease, keep one half of the world out of the way of observing what the other half suffer.' He personified his dual purpose in a hero, Bryan O'Meara, who is born of poor Irish Catholic parents, and brought up in the English Establishment. "I am a sort of amphibious animal in this respect", he says, "as partaking of the condition of the lower, and the education of the higher class; and have had more means of observation than anyone belonging to the one or the other class only". In the various problems and conflicts presented by the hero's situation, *Poverty* possesses a stronger narrative interest, and a wider range of reference, than most comparable religious *romans à thèse* of its period. And as it is now a very rare book¹ it may be useful to suggest the nature of its contents and quality.

Bryan is the only son of Albert and Bridget O'Meara, poor Irish cotters, who are compelled by the wretched poverty imposed upon the Irish peasantry by the Protestant Ascendancy to seek work in England during the harvest of 1809. With their baby son they travel on foot across England until they come to the estate of Sir Cecil Foxglove, near Grantham in Lincolnshire. Here Bryan's father saves Sir Cecil's young son, Charles, from drowning, but dies as a result of a chill. Albert's last words to the grateful, but somewhat embarrassed, Sir Charles are:

'Oh sir! be kind to the poor. Take the advice of a dying man, and I may do much more for you than you can ever do for me, for it will gain you the blessing promised to the merciful. Be kind to the poor.'

Sir Cecil, conscious of his debt to Albert, gives Bridget a small pension for life. The Abbé Piron (almost certainly a portrait of the Abbé Beaumont who had instructed Digby Beste) undertakes the education of Bryan. The latter shows promise, and becomes the protégé of a Catholic gentleman, Mr Harrison, who foresees that Bryan would be a suitable candidate for the priesthood. Bryan, however, decides that he has no vocation, as he wishes to put his education and accomplishments to the service of his oppressed countrymen.

¹ I have been able to trace only two copies of *Poverty*; one is in the Michael Sadlier collection at the University of California; and the other is in the possession of the author's great-grandson, Sir Henry Digby Beste, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the novel.

In the social circle of the Foxgloves, Bryan, with all the attributes of a gentleman except fortune, occupies a somewhat ambiguous and embarrassing position. In intellect, character, and even physique, he is the superior of his contemporary Charles, who owes his life to Bryan's father. Sir Cecil admires the young man, and enjoys teasing him about his Irish nationalism. Sir Cecil is an interesting and skilfully drawn character: cultured, sardonic, unhappily married to a stupid and snobbish wife, he respects the faith of his Catholic acquaintances, while himself conforming cynically to the Established Church. "Are you not aware, O'Meara," he says mischievously, when Bryan is engaged in disputation with the local rector, "that it is very rude to talk to a clergyman about religion?" His serious, reflective daughter Arabella, herself troubled by religious problems, is attracted by Bryan's character, an attraction which gradually ripens into mutual love. Sir Cecil kindly makes Bryan a gift of £2000 with which to start a farm in Ireland, but this, of course, in no way lessens the social abyss separating him from Arabella, and they tacitly agree to conceal their affection. Arabella, dissatisfied with the Established Church, consults the Abbé Piron. There is a good deal of religious discussion in this part of the novel, with the Abbé, Mr Harrison and Bryan as the Catholic spokesmen. Arabella even takes the trouble to write a note to Mr Harrison, during dinner, asking him to answer an objection to Catholic belief made by Mr Russel, the local minister, in the course of the meal.

With Bryan's departure from England the novel leaves the dialectics of the dinner-table, and the social strategy of the drawing-room, to return to the study of poverty. Bryan crosses to Ireland, is reunited with his mother, and meets his Irish relations. He quickly overcomes a certain reserve on their part (caused by his superior education) by his friendly manner, and by his concern at the penury which confronts him everywhere. He provides employment for many by starting a farm. In the disguise of a labourer he visits the Westbury estate, owned by Squire James, which had been forfeited by his ancestors for their part in the battle of the Boyne, and in the crypt he finds documents which reveal that the land was forfeited for only one generation. The property is therefore his. Excited and jubilant, he waits for the arrival of Mr Harrison, who reports the conversion of Arabella, and announces his intention of making Bryan his heir.

Bryan and Mr Harrison make the acquaintance of a young farmer called Morgan. They are both attracted by his frank manner and unusually intelligent conversation, although the parish priest informs them that he is an atheist. In conversation, however, they discover that he had been a pious Catholic, and had made a pilgrimage to Rome, paying his way by acting as courier to an English family. In this amusing digression Beste satirizes the English tourist in Italy, drawing, no doubt, on his own observation and experience. At Mass:

... I saw my mistress in the act of whispering to her daughter, and a lady turning round to them, and motioning them to be silent. My master looked back and caught my eye, and seemed contented to have someone near who might help him in need. However, they sat, and stood up, and kneeled, like other people; except that at the elevation, my master was as fixed on his seat as if he had been impaled, and the young gentleman was leaning his head aside, casting a lackadaisical look to the enclosure, where the royal family was or was not.

Despite his youthful piety, however, Morgan became a convinced atheist, and in chapters 33-4 Mr Harrison enters into a lengthy debate on Christian belief with him. Morgan is impressed by Harrison's fairness:

'You do not then believe in a Creator—a God?'

'Not I; if there is one, he ought to be a good Being, which it is plain, from the evil and suffering endured on earth, he is not.'

'How do you account, then, for the existence of what exists?'

'How do you account for the existence of your God? You suppose an uncaused cause: I suppose an uncaused effect.'

'I admit the difficulty on either side to be equal,' replied Mr Harrison.

'Do you? Then you are the honestest man, and the fairest arguer I ever met with.'

Gradually, however, Mr Harrison wears down his opponent. Shortly after their conversation, Morgan addresses a meeting assembled to protest against tithes. The crowd is brutally charged by a detachment of cavalry, and Morgan is condemned to death for incitement. In his cell he tells the priest that Harrison had changed his opinions from atheism to deism, and that had he lived he might have returned in time to the Christian faith. All the efforts of Bryan and Mr Harrison fail to obtain a reprieve, and the local peasantry rise in retaliation, securing Squire James and his friend Colonel Bolton as hostages. With the news of Morgan's execution, Bolton is shot, and Bryan arrives just in time to save Squire James from a similar fate.

Bryan and Mr Harrison return to England, the former concealing his improved fortune at the request of the latter. Bryan makes a declaration to Arabella. She admits her own love, and consents, without hope, to Bryan's making application to Sir Cecil. The latter is embarrassed by a conflict between his regard for Bryan and his respect for convention. His wife and son are, of course, scandalized by the proposal. In an exciting dénouement, with all the family present, Sir Cecil prepares to refuse Bryan's suit, while the latter waits anxiously for the arrival of Mr Harrison, and permission to make known his improved status.

Eventually Mr Harrison arrives and explains that he has just witnessed the serene and holy death of the Abbé Piron. Sir Cecil

looked round the room; and the thought came over him, with how much more assured hope and dignity, his old friend Harrison, the young peasant whom he had just spurned, and his daughter, would meet the last call, than he himself, his wife, or his selfish and arrogant son would encounter it! 'And yet,' he thought, 'we deem ourselves superior to them; and I have sacrificed all this that she may live—like me and her mother!'

With a sudden impulse, as if afraid of the permanency of his own resolution, he rose from his seat, and walking towards Bryan, hastily took his hand, and placed it in that of his daughter.

'Take her,' he said. 'May your ends be like that of the poor priest. I have tried living for this world; you will follow a different plan.'

The protests of his wife and son are quelled when they learn that Squire James has admitted the justice of Bryan's claim to the Westbury estate.

Poverty is distinctly a minor novel, but an excellent example of its type. There are many conventional elements in the plot—accidents, rescues, old documents—which are often irritating in other nineteenth-century novels. But in *Poverty* they are overlaid with convincing observation of people and manners in various social stratas. In the sincerity of its social message *Poverty* looks forward to the 'Condition of England' novel of Dickens, Mrs Gaskell and Disraeli.¹ If the dénouement of *Poverty* is somewhat contrived, this is not done merely to maintain suspense, but in order to dramatize an entirely plausible crisis in the character of Sir Charles Foxglove. The religious discussions in the novel are noteworthy in that they extend beyond Catholic-Protestant controversy to the basic problems of Christian belief posed by Morgan. Although there is nothing particularly original about the arguments advanced against scepticism, they do indicate an awareness on Beste's part of the threat to Christian belief that was to gather momentum as the century proceeded.

¹ *Poverty* is of course a 'Condition of Ireland' novel. John Richard Digby Beste maintained his father's interest in Irish problems. There exists a record of his correspondence with Robert Peel concerning the Irish Agricultural Question in *Dolman's Magazine*, No. 1 (March 1845), pp. 1-12.

BOOK NOTICES

PULPIT BEYOND THE GRAVE

The Pastoral Sermons of Ronald A. Knox. Edited with an Introduction by Philip Caraman, S.J. (Burns Oates. 42s.)

The Occasional Sermons of Ronald A. Knox. Edited with an Introduction by Philip Caraman, S.J. (Burns Oates. 42s.)

IN THE three years which have elapsed since the death of Monsignor Ronald Knox we have heard much by way of biography, memoir and reminiscence, of Ronald Knox the scholar and of Ronnie Knox the wit. A biography written soon after the death of its subject seldom satisfies. There are almost inevitably many who will regard such a portrait as lacking the qualities and characteristics known to them personally. In the case of Mr Evelyn Waugh's *Ronald Knox*, there was general praise of the early chapters dealing with the years before conversion to the Catholic Church. There was, however, a not inconsiderable body of opinion which held that the treatment of the later years was at best inadequate: it is argued that this account does less than justice to Monsignor Knox's priestly life and work and gives an altogether false impression of his relationships with his religious superiors and fellow clergy.

This is sad. The official biography has been written, and by the friend to whom Monsignor Knox himself confided the task. As someone who knew him intimately said recently, he has been presented to thousands who never knew him as a tragic, disappointed and frustrated character, whereas those who were privileged to enjoy his friendship recall him as a thoroughly happy person: how else explain the affection in which he was held by young people? Moreover his many friends, both clerical and lay, recognized him as a most holy and humble priest. To have suggested, as Mr Waugh has done, that he was the victim of 'hostility' due in part to 'half-conscious jealousy' is unfair to all parties. He was to his clerical brethren a source of pride and joy, and he returned with great generosity the affection which they showed to him.

It is sad because it will never be easy to unsay what the official

biography has said or, to even greater effect, implied. Only one person could undo the damage which has been done, and that is Monsignor Knox himself. Now, by the Providence of God, the voice of the priest answers from beyond the grave. It is as ever a voice which is welcome and exact.

We must be grateful to Mr Waugh, as Monsignor Knox's literary executor, for entrusting to Father Philip Caraman, S.J., the task of collating the unpublished sermons and conferences of one of the greatest preachers of the century. That his style both of composition and delivery was unique is known to all who heard him. Mr Waugh has himself written: 'It was a unique gift to give by a sort of vocal legerdemain the impression, while reading, that he was talking simply and directly to his hearers.' Whilst this style is perhaps not unknown in the giving of conferences and retreats, Monsignor Knox alone excelled in its use in the pulpits of cathedrals and churches, on great occasions as well as for smaller and domestic gatherings.

One speaks of the task of Father Caraman as that of *collating* rather than *editing* because all the sermons are printed exactly as they were written. Yet his skill in the arrangement of some two hundred sermons is worthy of all praise, and has made what might have been an unwieldy agglomeration a veritable treasury not only for the student of English language but for those who would meditate upon spiritual thought of the highest order.

An easy division has been made between the *Pastoral Sermons* and those preached on special occasions. One might think that whenever Monsignor Knox was the preacher it was to some degree a special occasion: yet he would have been the first to disagree. Many of the sermons included in the volume of *Pastoral Sermons* do not even bear a footnote to say where they were delivered. A happy exception is the group of sermons on the Eucharist. No less than twenty-six of these were preached, almost in successive years, on the feast of Corpus Christi in the church of that title in Maiden Lane in the centre of London. Similarly we find a group of sermons preached in the church of St Charles in Ogle Street, and others delivered from the pulpit of Westminster Cathedral. Surely these are indications that Monsignor Knox never lost sight of the fact that he was a Westminster priest, nor lost the friendship and confidence of his fellow diocesan clergy.

This first volume of *Pastoral Sermons* gives ample evidence of the range of their author's spiritual teaching, and may serve, as Father Caraman says in his Introduction, as a 'manual of meditation both for the layman and the priest'. Yet, although the standard of scholarship is uniformly high and provides example after example of Monsignor Knox's originality of treatment of traditional teaching, we frequently find in these sermons evidence of his ability to adapt his approach to both congregation and circumstances. Often there may seem to be

parentheses, but in reality they were the unexpected comment which caused us to rivet our attention on what was to follow.

His opening paragraph invariably presented a challenge to his hearers as to how he could possibly pass from it to the chosen subject. After a minute or two one realized that, far from being a mere literary introduction, it was these opening sentences which spelt out his theme. His parentheses were never padding, but always a legitimate means to an end, even though occasionally that end was the closer attention of his congregation. A good example of this may be found in the sermon he preached in the boys' chapel at All Hallows, Shepton Mallet, on, suitably enough, the feast of All Saints. After telling them exactly what he proposed talking about, he said: 'It sounds as if it were going to be a long sermon, but it won't really, as long as you sit fairly still and don't shuffle or snuffle or fidget; if you start doing that I don't know what may happen.' Remember that this was from a prepared manuscript, not an impromptu aside. One can almost sense the holy hush which followed, and which most likely he shattered as he went on to tell the boys that in order to be a saint 'the first thing is, to be dead'.

In his Introduction to the second volume, *The Occasional Sermons of Ronald A. Knox*, Father Caraman remarks the fact that Monsignor Knox 'was never known, at least in his later life, to preach even a short Sunday homily to a country congregation without a typescript'. We are all the beneficiaries of his painstaking efforts. We need not imagine that the apparent ease of style was achieved without considerable labour and attention to detail. The balance of phrasing and the careful choice of language enabled him to compress his material within the normal span allotted nowadays for a sermon, even on the great occasions. Gone is the customary repetition of spontaneous oratory. Few preachers write their sermons for subsequent publication as prose. Monsignor Knox is perhaps unique in that his printed eloquence takes the form of concise essays which, for all their economy of language, are never subject to the doctrinal sermon's usual complaint of being too 'meaty'.

It is understandable that those of us who often heard Monsignor Knox preach at the great ceremonies of the Church should turn with particular pleasure and not a little nostalgia to this collection of his *Occasional Sermons*. They have been divided for convenience into 'Saints', 'The English Martyrs', 'Occasions', and 'Panegyrics', and sensibly enough no attempt has been made to preserve the chronology of their delivery. Not unnaturally one turns to look for one's favourites, and immediately one notices the astonishing range of his subjects and the diversity of his congregations: a sermon to undergraduates in Birmingham on St Teresa of Lisieux; to the Friars at Oxford on Roger Bacon; in Dundee Cathedral for a meeting of the British Association; to Cardinals, Bishops and priests in Westminster Cathedral for the

Centenary of the Hierarchy; a broadcast on the opening of the Festival of Britain; and to the parishioners of Fulham on the centenary of the consecration of their church.

I remember this last occasion well, and for a variety of reasons. It was then that I realized that he was a preacher for the humble as well as for the intellectual. A brilliant sermon, yet it was simplicity itself. It dealt with their parish, their church and their priests.

Do not be deceived [he told the people of Fulham] into thinking that history is the record of wars and crises, of social developments or the changing fashions of human thought. Such things are only the backwash on the current. History is the life of John Smith, of the parish of Fulham, his birth, his marriage, his death. All that you will find set down in the parish registers; and always with the priest's name appended, to show that the blessing of the Church was there: *Ego*, Josephus Warren. . . . *Ego*, Ernestus Hanifin. . . . *Ego*, Carolus Flood—so, year after year, the ruling moments of human destiny stand dispassionately recorded. And meanwhile, how many secrets, these last hundred years, have been breathed through the grilles of those confessionals, and died with the priest who heard them! How many resolutions have been made, prayers granted before that Lady Statue! How many graces, unfelt, unseen, have been received at those communion rails! A church like this is a great museum of unwritten history; the history that really counts.

The life and language may have been those of one of the greatest scholars of the day. Who shall say that his words were above the heads of the humble folk of S.W.6? They listened enraptured as he spoke to them and they recognized the voice of a truly pastoral priest. They listened, as indeed I had listened enraptured before the sermon when for the first time I heard him read the Epistle and Gospel appointed to be read that Sunday and taken from the translation which he himself had made. It has already been said that he was a master of his typescript. To hear him read from what we now call the Knox Version was an even greater experience.

What was he doing in Fulham that Sunday? Answering a request from one of his former students at St Edmund's, at that time the parish priest. To say, as has been said, that he was more at home in the houses of patrician families than he was in the presbyteries of his brethren is at best a generalization. I have never seen him more at home than he was in the presbytery at Fulham that day.

This volume contains joy after joy and conjures up countless memories. One recalls the almost overwhelming emotion with which he preached at Lulworth on 'Thomas Weld's Church', on the occasion of the reconsecration of the high altar of the first Catholic church to be built in England for public worship after the Reformation. 'On the soul of Thomas Weld, and the souls of all his kinsfolk that have gone before

us, may our Lord have mercy; and raise up still in His family worthy descendants of a great name, to live and fight and suffer in their Master's service.'

Equally one recalls that morning in Birmingham Cathedral in September 1954, when, preaching for the enthronement of Archbishop Grimshaw, he caused ripples of laughter to spread from the sanctuary benches to the C.Y.M.S. on duty at the doors. He was at his most irrepressible as he played with the idea of St Peter, the fisherman to whom was entrusted the care of the sheep, and of the new Archbishop, 'called away from his nets at Plymouth to these Midland plains where he has four great counties for his shepherding'. Was this just an unnecessary flight of fancy? Then the dart went home. 'By hook or by crook, the world has to be won for Christ.'

Father Caraman has pointed to the poignancy of the last paragraph of his last sermon at St Edmund's College. It was his adieu to the College for which he had great affection and which, alas, has suffered at the hands of his biographer. It is his testament to his fellow clergy who, in the official *Life*, have shared the fate of their *Alma Mater*.

Nobody [concluded Monsignor Knox on St Edmund's Day 1956] who ever tried to do good in the world has managed to get through life without experiencing frustration and disappointment. Least of all a priest, who has to work on the stubborn soil of men's souls, in a world always ready to criticize, limited by the authority of human, and not always wise, superiors. He will find his plans set aside, his advice neglected, cold water poured on his aspirations. He will take that well, precisely in so far as he has learned, from the outset, to put God's will in the foreground, not the background, of his world-picture. Force yourself, in your prayer, to see his will as the only thing that matters; be prepared to see all the good you meant and tried to do done by some other man, on the ruins of your failure. Then, in life and in death, you will be able to call yourself an Edmundian.

It has been suggested that this is the voice of embitterment. I think not. The counsel given at the end of the sermon—critics should now read the whole—was the sound advice which any spiritual director would give to any group of clergy and any group of seminarians: in all things to put God's will first. It occurred to no one present that day that the preacher was grinding a personal axe. To have done so would have been quite contrary to what we knew of him, and contrary to the whole lesson of the sermon. After all, he was preaching on St Edmund of Abingdon, of whom he had just said: 'He followed God's will as he saw it, and it was with no tinge of bitterness or regret, but full of comfort and resignation, that he gave up his soul in death.'

After lunch that day I drove Monsignor Knox back to London. He

talked to me much of Cardinal Griffin, who had died just three months before. Had I understood the reference in his *Sunday Times* article to the 'consolation' which on at least one occasion the Cardinal had enjoyed? This article is happily included now amongst the printed Panegyrics in the volume of *Occasional Sermons*. When one recalls the alleged difficulties which Monsignor Knox experienced with the Hierarchy, it is well to note the first paragraph in this tribute:

I do not find it easy to write dispassionately about Cardinal Griffin. When you find, in your immediate superior, a man who gives you nothing but encouragement, and is always ready to fight your battles, you do not easily write of such a man except in terms of mere eulogy. And such a superior I had in Cardinal Griffin.

It was during that same drive to London that Monsignor Knox spoke of a friend who had great pain from a rheumatic spine. Somehow, as he sat there endlessly relighting his pipe, he seemed almost unduly concerned about the plight of this third person. I have learned since that he spoke earlier that day to another priest and in the same vein. One realizes now that he was almost certainly speaking of himself, though the disease which already gripped him was not rheumatism.

Only a few weeks later he entered a London hospital for an operation, and it was while he was a patient there that I saw him for the last time. Shortly afterwards he returned to Mells, and it was from his sick-bed there that he wrote to me in the following July, just over one month before he died. With an unsteady hand, he told me that he had received a letter conveying the Holy Father's paternal Apostolic Blessing. Would I tell him through whom he should reply, 'and in what language or languages?' I sent him the information at once, adding the assurance of my prayers, and by return of post I received his final letter. He was grateful for the direction and for the prayers. He told me that he had been re-reading the memorial booklet, *Tribute to Cardinal Griffin*. There followed two lines of Greek, to which he added with a familiar touch: 'I hope there is still enough Greek at Archbishop's house to construe this.'

The final words of this letter were simple: 'Pray for my perseverance, please.' In his biography of Monsignor Knox, Mr Waugh tells us: 'In all the letters he wrote to priests, and many to lay people, he asked them to pray for his perseverance.' One reviewer at least has commented on this, suggesting that perhaps at the end he suffered temptations to his faith. Yet it would seem to me that, faced with death, it is the virtue for which any priest would seek the prayers of his friends. In the case of Monsignor Knox, we do not have to look far for support of this. In the volume *The Priestly Life*, published posthumously and containing conferences to his fellow-clergy, we find a chapter entitled 'Perseverance'. Its conclusion shall be ours:

Quo vita nusquam decadat—much must needs decline; our bodily powers, our mental alertness, our appreciation of the savours of life. But, in so far as we refuse to be got down by all that, there will be no decline, and the clouds that gather round our sunset will be tinged with gold.

DEREK WORLOCK

CLEMENT XIV TO GREGORY XVI

Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846. By E. E. Y. Hales. Pp. 320. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 30s.)

Six years ago Mr Hales produced a life of *Pio Nono*, the first to appear in English, which deservedly won the admiration of the critics, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. He now gives us a study of that pope's six predecessors, from Clement XIV who suppressed the Jesuits to Gregory XVI who condemned the Liberals. The period is one which will be unfamiliar to most English readers. It was not, on any reckoning, a particularly distinguished period in the history of the Roman Church, but it is one which has been the subject of intensive study in recent years, and in this new work the author gives us a clear and well-balanced view based on his own wide reading and his personal researches in the Roman archives. As readers of his earlier works will be aware, Mr Hales can show an independence and originality of judgement which is as refreshing as it is stimulating.

The book deals with the three revolutions in which the papacy was involved in the later eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. There was first the revolt of the Catholic kings, the Bourbons and Hapsburgs of Spain, France, Austria and Naples, who in the name of 'reform' sought to dictate papal policy, and who were finally successful in bringing about the suppression of that pillar of papal authority, the Society of Jesus. There was next the revolt of the French, and in particular of Napoleon, who sought to make of the Church, and of the pope as a temporal sovereign, an instrument of his imperial policies. And finally there was the revolt of the Liberals, of the Catholic Liberals who questioned the pope's rulings on matters of politics, and of those others who, like Mazzini, convinced that the Church had had its day, sought to supplant not merely the papal government but Christianity itself.

But this same period saw the beginnings of yet a further revolution which was to bring about a profound change in the situation of the papacy itself. For in these years, undistinguished as were the persons and the policies of the popes themselves, the papal office underwent a transformation for which a parallel must be sought in the days of Gregory VII and his successors, or in the time of Boniface VIII and the age of the Reformation. Pius IX has been called, with some justification, the creator of the modern papacy. It might reasonably be

argued that never in recent centuries has the international prestige of the papacy stood so high as it does in our own day. Nor can it be denied that the emergence of the modern papacy became possible when the Roman Church was at last able to rid itself of the incubus of temporal sovereignty without losing its political independence, and—more important still—was able to free itself from that dependence on the absolutist Catholic sovereigns which, for a century and a half, had been its chief bane. But how precisely, and in what circumstances, did this transformation take place? And how, in particular, did the popes of this period view the prospect of the loss of their temporal power? It is the precise aim of Mr Hales in this book to examine this last problem.

Clement XIV suppressed the Jesuits by the bull *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster* of 1773 as an act of appeasement in reply to the clamour, and the threats, of the Bourbon and Hapsburg sovereigns. The chief effect of the bull, as might have been expected, was to encourage these rulers to take further steps to increase their control of the Church in their dominions. Joseph II in Austria and the Netherlands, and his brother Leopold in Tuscany, now set about the creation of what were in effect national churches. Their common aim was that of 'reviving the Church through the agency of the State'. Not the least of their many and sometimes ridiculous reforms was the reorganization of seminary studies, the evil effects of which were still evident as late as the Vatican Council in 1870.

The Church was saved from the effect of these 'reforms' by the French Revolution, which showed these rulers 'what happened to religion—and to princes—when national assemblies assumed control of the Church'. But if the Revolution delivered the pope from the menaces of the Catholic kings, it also introduced a new threat, this time to the pope's temporal sovereignty.

In 1796 the Revolution reached Italy, and the papal legations of Ravenna and Bologna were absorbed in the new Cisalpine Republic. In the following year, after Tolentino, Pius VI was compelled to surrender these territories together with Ferrara. In 1798 the Revolution reached Rome, a republic was proclaimed, the pope's temporal power was abolished, and the pontiff himself was led away to captivity and death in exile. To the triumphant republicans it seemed that not merely the temporal power but the papacy itself had come to an end. Within a year the papal states were recovered by the astonishing intervention of the *Sanfedisti*. Then came Napoleon. On his way to empire he saw clearly the need of conciliating Catholic opinion in France, and saw too that he would need the support of the pope to establish his own title to sovereignty; and for these reasons he made vague promises to restore the lost legations. But once established and crowned emperor, the total elimination of the temporal power and the absorption of the

papal states into his empire became a first object of his policy in Italy. His motive was plain enough. With Nelson and the English fleet in the Mediterranean the continuing existence of a neutral state in Italy was a danger which he could not afford to risk. 'Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome,' he told the pope, 'but I am the emperor. All my enemies must be his.' The pope must therefore exclude all enemy nationals from his territories and close his harbours to their ships. And when the pope refused, the emperor's answer was to invade Rome, abolish the temporal power, and lead the pope away to five years of captivity and exile.

The action of Napoleon thus made of the pope's temporal sovereignty an issue which was to occupy the attention of the powers of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, and to make of it a dominant issue in the affairs of Europe for the rest of the century. As such it rightly forms a major theme of the present work. Mr Hales sees the popes of this period as concerned above all to defend two things: their spiritual authority and their temporal power, and he appears to be convinced that their preoccupation with the recovery and maintenance of their political authority was a mistaken policy from which the Church and the reputation of the popes themselves suffered grievously. For, he suggests, in following this policy the popes inevitably hindered and delayed that revolutionary movement which was to liberate and transform the papal office itself, and was ultimately to raise the prestige of the papacy in the councils of Europe to a level which it had not known for centuries. This point of view of the author is so important that it deserves some detailed consideration.

Mr Hales' argument would appear to run somewhat as follows.

After the fall of Napoleon, and at a time when, largely due to the patient and heroic resistance of the saintly Pius VII, a new climate of opinion favourable to the papacy was emerging in Europe—'the modern ultramontane movement'—the popes and their advisers, and notably Consalvi and Pacca, failed and failed disastrously to read aright the lesson of the history of the previous twenty-five years. They failed to see that the day of the temporal power was past, that the Papal States were no longer viable in the Europe of 1815 and that theocratic government in the temporal sphere was now an anachronism. It was part of Consalvi's great achievement at the Congress of Vienna to secure the return of the papal legations. He was convinced—and in this he was undoubtedly right—that without the recovery of these territories, the only economically valuable part of the pope's dominions, the temporal power was doomed. He was equally convinced—and in this Mr Hales believes that he was profoundly mistaken—that the full restoration of the pope's temporal sovereignty was essential to the prestige and the authority of the pope as a spiritual sovereign. Consalvi was not, however, alone in this conviction. Cardinal Sala, 'the most clear-sighted political thinker in the Sacred College',

the author of a liberal plan of reform for the future government of the papal states, was well aware that in the past the papal government 'had lost or forgotten the art of understanding men', and saw as did no other that without radical reform the temporal power could not be preserved. But the remedy Sala suggested was reform, and in particular the complete separation of the temporal power from the spiritual; he never even envisaged the possibility that the temporal power as such should be abandoned. And later Pius IX in his turn, shared the same conviction.

In the event the Roman authorities failed and failed hopelessly to provide good government in the papal states in the years which followed the restoration, above all in the years after 1823, when Consalvi was succeeded by the octogenarian Cardinal della Somiglia as secretary of State to the new pope, Gregory XVI, the candidate of the *zelanti* cardinals in the Curia. The history of the administration of the papal states in the next years is one which reflects no credit whatever on the Roman government, and the researches of recent historians, as Mr Hales ably demonstrates, only serve to confirm the adverse criticisms of earlier students of the period. 'It is difficult to exaggerate the harm done to the papacy, particularly in the pontificate of Gregory XVI, by its temporal preoccupations', says the author. It is not without significance that one of the severest critics of the administration was Mastai-Ferretti, the future Pius IX, who as archbishop of Spoleto and later bishop of Imola was singularly well placed to observe the situation.

But if successive popes failed to govern effectively the territories which they had recovered at Vienna this was not, so Mr Hales argues, their only failure. Convinced that the temporal power was essential to their office, convinced too that their rule within the papal states must necessarily be as autocratic as was their rule of the universal Church, they were inevitably led to oppose, on the one hand, all attempts to 'liberalize' their rule, and on the other hand to support with all the authority at their command the autocratic government of the other sovereigns of Europe, even when those same sovereigns were persecutors of the Church. And as part of this policy Gregory XVI was impelled 'to make pronouncements on political principles in terms which implied that what he was saying had permanent validity, when in fact what he was saying had, at best, a temporary and contingent validity, and more probably was ill-judged'.

Such, as it appears to one reader, is the author's argument. It is one which calls for serious consideration, but it is not, perhaps, finally convincing.

It is, of course, true that at the end of the century, when the papal states had been for all practical purposes effectively lost to the papacy, Leo XIII plainly stated that the Church was indifferent to forms of

government, and in so doing he repudiated, at least implicitly, much of what Gregory XVI had claimed. And there are probably few students of the modern history of the papacy who would hesitate to say that the attempt to retain the papal states was a bugbear and a hindrance to papal policy in other directions, and that the final settlement when it came at last in 1929 was a blessing and a relief. But was it in fact a defect of the popes, from Pius VII in 1815 to Pius IX as late as 1878, that they failed to realize that the time had now come to abdicate that temporal power which, for a thousand years had been, or had been believed to be, a chief support of the papal sovereignty?

It may, perhaps, seem to some of Mr Hales' readers that one can only criticize the popes of the nineteenth century for their alleged lack of foresight if one is content to read history backwards and to be wise after the event; and if, at the same time, one fails to distinguish in the Liberalism of the period between that genuine movement for the liberation of the people from the tyranny of autocratic rule, and that other liberalism which, in the name of political freedom, was bent on the destruction of Christianity. For of this one fact there can be no doubt, and indeed Mr Hales himself makes it abundantly clear: that the loss of sovereignty over the papal states in the years from 1796 to 1814 had been followed inevitably by the secularization of those states through the introduction of a Civil Code which, among other things, reduced marriage to a civil contract and introduced divorce. In this respect at least the policy of Napoleon in northern Italy after Tolentino was little different in principle to that of Mazzini after the flight of Pius IX to Gaeta and the establishment of the Roman republic of 1848. The fact that the surrender of temporal power by the popes had been inevitably followed by an attack on Christian principles was surely a powerful factor in the formation of papal policy in later years. It was this which, at least in some measure, explains the papal resolve to cling to that restored power in the years which followed. One incident of this time is particularly revealing. At Savona in 1812, after a time of fearful hesitation, the captive Pius VII finally showed himself ready to surrender to Napoleon on the question of the investiture of bishops, on certain conditions; his ultimate rejection of the emperor's terms was not, as Mr Hales seems to suggest, his 'concern for the papal states' but rather his determination not to surrender the exercise of this purely spiritual right within his own dominions.

Papal policy within this period, and in particular the resolve to preserve the temporal power, seems in fact to have been dictated by several considerations. The papal states were a patrimony of the Roman Church, of which the popes were the custodians, not the owners. They were therefore not at liberty to make any surrender. They were convinced, not without reason, that their spiritual independence could not in fact be maintained if they were not at the same

time politically independent, and that meant at that time the maintenance of the temporal power. As a temporal sovereign in a warring world, and as at the same time the spiritual father of all Christians, the pope was bound to pursue a course of the strictest neutrality, and this alone the temporal power made possible. But beyond all this, and throughout the whole of this period, there was this further compelling motive, that the modern state, whether autocratic or democratic, whether conservative or liberal, was proving hostile to the Church and, in the extreme case, hostile to Christianity itself. Joseph II, Napoleon, Mazzini—no pope surely with a clear conscience could surrender even his temporal authority over Christians to such rulers.

'It is in the nature of human politics,' says Mr Hales, 'to be overtaken by the tide of History.' May it not be argued that the ultimate solution to the problem of the temporal power which history provided was in fact the best solution? No one can deny that in their human politics the popes of this time failed, and they failed indeed precisely because they were human. But they made no sacrifice of principle, and for their principles they willingly suffered persecution. And if they were mistaken in the belief that a principle was involved in the defence of the temporal power, at least their mistake lay in a defective human judgement and was not the result of any merely secular ambition.

Mr Hales writes with great clarity, and with the conviction which comes from a profound knowledge of the period. Like his *Pio Nono* the present work must be classed as required reading for all serious students of the history of the Church in the nineteenth century.

GERARD CULKIN

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CONFESSOR

Paul Atkinson, Franciscan Prisoner at Hurst Castle, Hampshire. By Fr Hilary McDonagh, O.F.M. (Samuel Walker Ltd. 9s. 6d.)

STUDENTS of recusant history have reason to be grateful to Fr Hilary McDonagh, O.F.M., for the very interesting little book which he has just published on an earlier member of his order, Fr Paul (Matthew) Atkinson, who died in 1729 after thirty years' imprisonment in Hurst Castle, off the Hampshire coast. The sole ground for imprisonment was his priesthood and he suffered in consequence of the statute 11 & 12 Wm. III, cap. 4 which, in effect, replaced the Elizabethan Acts against Catholic priests because it offered a reward of a hundred pounds to any informer who secured a conviction. Many priests were committed to prison as a result of this Act; the London Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, was himself constantly in and out of gaol, and in one of his letters to Laurence Mayes, the Clergy Agent in Rome, he laments 'the malice or covetousness of some miscreant Apostate

Catholics who to get the £100 inform against us', while in another letter he refers to 'two of my most laborious missionaries, who were very lately seized and condemned to prison upon such an information of poor people they had administered sacraments to. . . . These two good priests are, Mr Lacy, & Mr Liddle whos great zeal, & most successful labours the Devil could not bear with. Another allso most labourious Clergyman is clostt up in Gloster jail. Their whole crime is, having said Mass and administered the Sacraments . . .'¹

Fr Paul Atkinson is, however, celebrated as the one priest who suffered literal life-imprisonment under the new Act, and although he was not always kept in close captivity he eventually surrendered his partial liberty from fear of compromising the kindly gaoler who had permitted it—an attractive sidelight upon both their characters. Whether Fr Paul was the only priest in Hurst Castle is a little doubtful; the author says he was, but one of the Privy Council Registers at the Public Record Office contains, twenty years after Fr Paul had been sent there, an entry relating to a popish priest named Anthony de la Porte who was committed to Hurst Castle for life imprisonment.² One wonders whether this may have been the French priest, 'carried away to Hurst Castle . . . in the latter part of the reign of George I', to whom Fr McDonagh refers on p. 61 and whether Milner may have erred in asserting that this priest—'this supposed *Father Valentio*'—was in fact Fr Paul Atkinson (quoted on p. 63.)

To shed light on Fr Paul's career, the author has consulted a variety of sources and his book is enriched by extracts from several interesting 'background' documents, some of them hitherto unpublished, in the Franciscan archives, as well as by references to other manuscript sources and to various contemporary, or near-contemporary, publications. One or two minor slips or misprints have been noticed; the *Victoria and Albert History of Hampshire* is surely the *Victoria County History* (p. 44), and 'Douti' is 'Douai' (p. 51), while the allusion to the Reform of the Calendar on p. 76 gives the date as 1750 instead of 1752. This book is likely to be consulted by students as well as enjoyed by the general reader and is of sufficient interest and value to be worthy of an index. Another omission that ought to be repaired—not by Fr McDonagh's publishers, but by Her Majesty's Stationery Office—is the absence of any mention of Fr Paul Atkinson (or, indeed, of the fact that Hurst Castle was used as a prison for Catholic priests) in the Ministry of Works leaflet which is on sale at the castle.³

J. ANTHONY WILLIAMS

¹ Westminster Cathedral Archives: Kirk's MS. 'Records of the Vicars-Apostolic' (Gifford to Mayes, 11 July 1714 and 'Dec. the last, 1719', respectively). For Francis Lacy and John Liddel, see J. Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics, 1700-1800* (1909), pp. 147, 151.

² P.R.O., P.C. 2/86 (19 May 1720).

³ O. E. Craster, M.A., F.S.A., *Hurst Castle, Hampshire, 1949* (reprinted 1958), price 3d.

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